

PROCEEDINGS

of the third

Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems



Held At

North Newton, Kansas, August 18 and 19, 1944

Third Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems

North Newton, Kansas, August 18 and 19, 1944

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18

Forenoon Session 9:00 - 12:00

Chairman: C. F. Plett, Freeman Junior College

"The Development of Music in the Mennonite Church"

Walter Hohmann

"Developments in Preaching in the Mennonite Church"

Roy Umble

* * *

Afternoon Session 1:30 - 4:30

Chairman: David C. Wedel, Halstead, Kansas

"The History of the Doctrine of Non-Conformity Among
Mennonites"

John C. Wenger

"Difficulties in Applying Non-Conformity in Modern Life"

Emil Waltner

* * *

Fellowship Supper 5:30 - 7:00

Evening Session 8:00 - 10:00

Chairman: John Koppenhaver, Hesston, Kansas

"Helping Mennonite Young People Get a Vocational Start"

J. Winfield Fretz

Panel Discussion: "Mennonite Mutual Aid: Its Problems and
Possibilities"—Melvin Gingerich, North Newton, Kansas; Frank
Wenger, Moundridge, Kansas; Elmer Fleming, Hillsboro, Kan-
sas; William Stauffer, Sugarcreek, Ohio.

* * *

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19

Forenoon Session 9:00 - 12:00

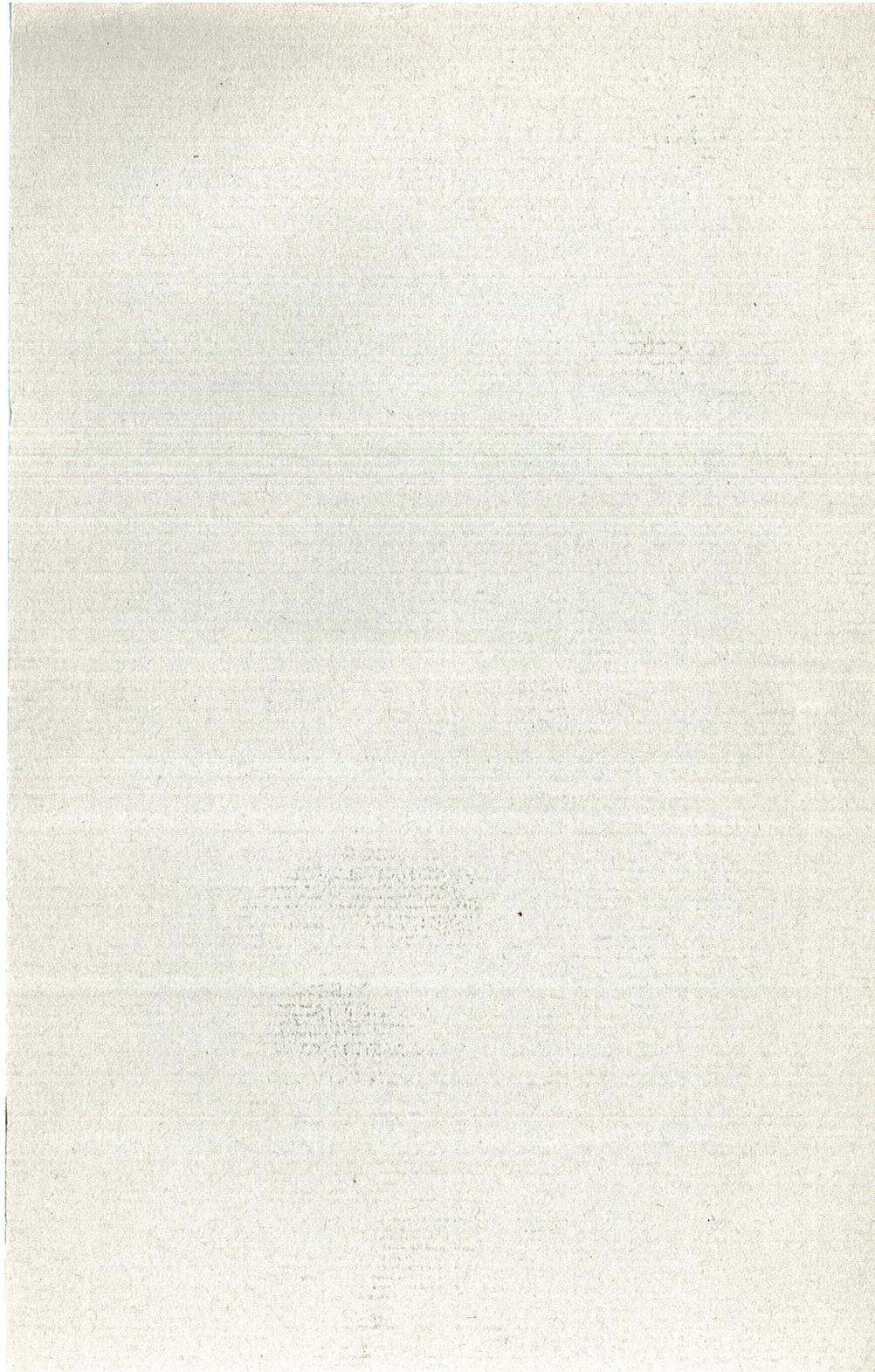
Chairman: Cornelius Krahn, North Newton, Kansas

"The Attitude of the (Old) Mennonite Church Toward Labor
Unions"

Ivan Lind

"Contributions of the Russian Mennonites to the Culture of
Kansas"

Menno Harder



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**Published Under the Auspices
of the Committee of Mennonite and
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The following schools and colleges cooperate:

**Bethel College
Beulah College
Bluffton College
Eastern Mennonite School
Freeman College
Goshen College
Hesston College
Messiah Bible College
Tabor College**

**Committee on Planning and Arrangements
For
the 1944 Conference**

**J. Winfield Fretz, Bethel College
John Koppenhaver, Hesston College
Cornelius Krahn, Tabor College
Carl Kreider, Goshen College
Lloyd L. Ramseyer, Bluffton College**

**Printed at
North Newton, Kansas**

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PROGRAM OF THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON
MENNONITE CULTURAL PROBLEMS

North Newton, Kansas, August 18 and 19, 1944

Friday Morning 9:00 - 12:00

*Chairman: C. F. Plett, Freeman Junior College, Freeman, S. D.

"The Development of Music in the Mennonite Church"

Walter Hohmann, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas

"Developments in Mennonite Preaching"

Roy Umble, CPS Camp No. 18, Denison, Iowa

Friday Afternoon 1:30 - 4:30

Chairman: David C. Wedel, First Mennonite Church Halstead, Kan.

"The History of the Doctrine of Non-Conformity Among
Mennonites," John C. Wenger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

"Difficulties in Applying Non-Conformity in Modern Life"

Emil Waltner, Hurley, South Dakota

Fellowship Supper 5:30 - 7:00

Friday Evening 8:00 - 10:00

Chairman: John Koppenhaver, Hesston College and Bible School,
Hesston, Kansas

"Helping Mennonite Young People Get a Vocational Start"

J. Winfield Fretz, M.C.C., Akron, Pa.

Panel Discussion: "Mennonite Mutual Aid: Its Problems and
Possibilities"

Melvin Gingerich, (Old) Mennonite, North Newton, Kansas;
Frank Wenger, Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, Mound-
ridge, Kansas;

Elmer Flaming, Mennonite Brethren, Hillsboro, Kansas;

William Stauffer, General Conference, Sugarcreek, Ohio.

Saturday Morning 9:00 - 12:00

Chairman: Cornelius Krahn, Bethel College, North Newton, Kans.

"The Attitude of the (Old) Mennonite Church Toward Labor
Unions," Ivan Lind, Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas

"Contributions of the Russian Mennonites to the Culture of
Kansas," Menno Harder, Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas

*The Chairman of each session was in charge of the devotional
periods.



EXPLANATORY REMARKS

The third annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems was held on the Bethel College Campus at North Newton, Kansas. The conference consisted of only four half-day sessions in contrast to the usual six sessions. The abbreviated conference was due to the fact that the two sessions usually devoted to concerns of Mennonite colleges were omitted this year because the Mennonite college presidents' committee found it unsatisfactory to meet at the time of the conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems. In place of the addresses usually given at these two sessions, edited minutes of two meetings of the college presidents held during the year are included.

The 1944 conference was the first one to be held in Kansas. Because the two previous ones were held in Indiana it was impossible for faculty members of Bethel, Hesston, and Tabor Colleges and other friends interested in the conference to attend. Registration at the conference was about as large as at previous sessions. Two special groups were guests of the conference, one a group of thirty Civilian Public Service men who were attending a Religious Workers Institute on the Bethel College Campus, and a second group of educational directors of the Civilian Public Service camps. Participation in the discussions as well as reception of the papers read was on the same enthusiastic level that characterized the previous conference sessions.

To date those interested in promoting the conference on Cultural Problems have been proceeding cautiously but hopefully. Now that the third conference has been held it is clear that this conference has found its place. The three annual conferences have shown that there is a general desire for such conferences and that they fill a definite need in the intellectual and educational realm of the Mennonite Church. This agency has the possibility through the years of enriching the Mennonite Church for the glory of God and the service of fellowmen.

WINFIELD FRETZ



DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN THE MENNONITE CHURCH

By Walter H. Hohmann

Mankind throughout the ages has expressed itself. This expression has taken various ways, means, or forms. One of these means of expression is religion. Archer in his book, *Faiths Men Live By*, says that "all mankind is religious." Man will worship, if not the true God then something other than the true God.

Another means of expression is philosophy. Through this means man has expressed himself on a great many topics of life such as God, ultimate reality, evil, ethics, freedom, government, knowledge, etc.

Another way of expression for mankind is science. By this means man has learned much about the natural universe and the laws that govern both man and the universe. Many are the wonders, marvels, and achievements of science for the benefit of man, even though he may use them at times for his own hurt and destruction.

Still another way of expression for mankind is literature. Here again man has expressed himself on many and various subjects. What a wealth of knowledge and information is available to us as a result of man's efforts and work in this field of expression.

Mankind also expresses itself by means of drawing or painting. This is a very interesting and at the same time an old mode of expression. It is interesting to note that George Sarton in his book, *The History of Science and the New Humanism* says that "mathematics, music, and drawing are the three international languages in the world today."

Yet another means of expression employed by mankind is sculpture. This likewise is an old and interesting mode of expression. The Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth century concerned itself, in part at least, with the question of how this mode of expression was to be used in the church.

Architecture, another means of expression employed by mankind, also left its imprint upon our culture. What a horror, what a nightmare one experiences as he travels through our cities today and

observes the architecture in general. Some denominations use a more or less distinctive and appropriate type of architecture in the construction of their church edifices, others not. Maybe the Mennonites should employ a suitable type of architecture also. The Gothic type of architecture with its many spires and gables, pointing man toward and trying to represent to man God's infinity, is perhaps one of the most perfect types of architecture ever employed by man.

The last type or means of expression that I wish to mention is music. This paper is to concern itself largely with this means of expression as employed by the Mennonites. Music naturally divides itself into two major categories, namely ideological and utilitarian. Church music belongs under the former category.

As we enter upon the consideration of Mennonite Hymnology, it is important that we should be clear as to the condition of song in the Western Church at this time.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century a great and rich body of Latin hymns had accumulated while a corresponding development had taken place in music, since the time of the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants. In order to realize how great was the change that had taken place, one need only examine a work on church music and compare and contrast the simple forms of the earlier period with the elaborations of the music of the Mass in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The glorious music of Palestrina shows how great progress had been made both in melody and contrapuntal structure of music. As a result the church music was regulated more and more to the celebrant and his assistants and to a choir, while the voice of the people, except in the occasional singing of responses, was well nigh silenced. Add to this the fact that psalms, canticles, and other hymns were sung in the Latin tongue, and the gradual discontinuance of congregational singing can readily be understood.

Then came the Reformation; and with it a transformation of the church song.

The Mennonites (Anabaptists) in Holland, as early as 1529, adopted a hymn book, prepared by David Jores of Duer, Holland. How much singing was done by the Mennonites, or how satisfactory this book and others that they adopted, may have been, is very difficult to determine. However, one may conclude that they did sing in their worship services, or why would they have had a hymn book.

The *Ausbund* of 1570, prepared by Schweitzer Brueder, is a hymn book that exerted a tremendous influence upon our hymnology and upon the Mennonite Church in general. The song, *O Gott Vater wir loben dich*, represents a type of hymn that is found in many of our Mennonite hymn books, as well as in hymnals of other denominations. Musicologists are pretty well agreed that the tune to which this hymn is sung by the Amish congregations is perhaps of Gregorian chant origin.

The next hymn book of Mennonite origin that has exerted a decided influence upon our hymnology is titled—*Ein Schoen Gesangbuechlein Geistlicher Lieder, zusammen getragen aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament*, and is dated according to Wolkan about 1590. Heyse, Wackernagel, and Kock all place the date as earlier than 1590, but do not agree as to the date of publication.¹ Wackernagel thinks this book influenced the contents of later editions of the *Ausbund*. The book contained hymns regarding church doctrine such as ban, baptism, communion, marriage, divorce, oath, war, and peace, etc., according to Wolkan.² In using the hymn for doctrinal and didactic purposes the Mennonites followed the leading of Luther. The hymn, *O Gott Vater wir loben dich*, is also found in this book. A number of Lenaert Klock's hymns are found in this book, who seems to have been a teacher and leader among the Mennonites at this time.

The next hymn book of Mennonite origin which exerted a very marked influence upon our hymnology is the *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* of 1767, which was prepared by the West Prussian congregations. This book, with slight changes of title, went through nine editions in Prussia, six editions in Russia, and three editions in America. The American edition of 1926 is used by the Holdeman church in Canada. The table of contents in these various editions is very much the same. The earlier books contained a section of metrical psalms which is deleted from the later books.

Another hymn book of importance in our Mennonite hymnology is the *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in den Mennoniten Gemeinden Ruszlands*. This book was published in 1892. There are five editions of this book in unchanged form. The last edition was printed in 1914. This book may be found quite generally in the congregations of Canada.

1. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertaufer*, p. 112.

2. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertaufer*, pp. 90-118.

The *Liederperlen*, third edition of 1897, and following editions; the *Heimatklaenge*, *Frohebotschaft*, *Zionslieder*, *Reichslieder*, and *Singet dem Herrn*, all exerted an influence upon our hymnology in Russia.

I wish to mention one more European book that influenced our hymnology; namely, the *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in Evengelischen Mennoniten Gemeinden*. This book was printed at Worms, in 1856, used by Mennonite congregations in the Palatinate and is the most direct predecessor of the *Gesangbuch Mit Noten* used here in America.

Turning our attention to America there are also some very interesting hymn books whose influence is marked and very far reaching.

The first book I wish to mention other than the *Ausbund*, is the *Kleine geistliche Harfe der der Kinder Zions*. This book, the official hymn book of the Franconia Conference of Mennonites,¹ was printed in 1803, and also becomes a model for many other hymn books as to type of contents, etc. Its background is distinctly European, which is very natural.

The second American hymn book that attracts our attention is *Ein Neues, unpartheyisches Gesangbuch zum allgemein Gebrauch des wahren Gottesdienstes*, and was the official hymn book of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference,² printed in 1804. This book, and also the *Kleine geistliche Harfe*, contain a goodly number of the metrical psalms. Our Mennonites sang metrical psalms and the revival of metrical psalm singing today is a very natural thing, in that it is a part of our hymnological background.

The next book to merit our attention is *Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung*, printed in Berlin, Canada, in 1836. It is very similar in contents to the two previously mentioned books, except that it contains no metrical psalms, is smaller in format, and as a result of this does not contain as many hymns as the other two books.

The *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und Haeuslichen Gebrauch in Mennoniten Gemeinden* of 1873 should also be men-

1. Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature*, p. 9.

2. Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature*, p. 10.

tioned. The table of contents of this book is the same as that of the Worms book printed in 1856 in Europe, except that the appendix of prayers is deleted. This book is the first attempt at a hymn book for the General Conference here in America. In 1890, with some change in the table of contents, it became the *Gesangbuch mit Noten* which went through sixteen editions. The *Gesangbuch der Mennoniten*, of 1942 in Canada, is an outgrowth of the *Gesangbuch mit Noten* and the *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in den Mennoniten Gemeinden Russlands*, which I have previously mentioned.

The hymn book bearing the title, *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* published by Joseph Funk in 1847, which went through numerous editions, should be considered when thinking of trends and influences in our hymnology. It is the first Mennonite hymnbook in the English language. This book evidently served as a model for several other hymn books.

Other hymn books that should be mentioned are, *A Collection of Hymns designed for the use of the Church of Christ*, used by the Reformed Mennonite churches; *A Choice Collection of Spiritual Hymns*, used by the Mennonite Brethren in Christ churches; *Church Hymnal, Mennonite*, used by the Old Mennonite churches; *Mennonite Hymn Book* used by the General Conference churches and *The Mennonite Hymnary*, also used by the General Conference churches.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

1. Mennonites must have believed in congregational singing or undoubtedly they would not have made available so many hymn books. Congregational singing was evidently regarded as a necessary and vital function in the life of the individual congregation and the denomination as a whole.

2. In making the transition from one language to another, our hymnology would seem to indicate that we give up a good type of hymn, and accept a hymn of an inferior type. This is perhaps only natural; for in the period and process of change, a suitable hymn book is not found immediately and one of our own is not yet available. In our hymnology here in America this fact, I think, stands out very clearly.

3. The hymns that appear again and again in our hymn books are God centered and have a distinct motion or movement God-ward. These hymns are good, not because they are old, but old because they are good. The following are some hymns of this type that are found again and again in our various hymn books.

Nun danket alle Gott	Rinkart
Allein Gott in der Hoeh sei Ehr	Decius
Werde munter mein Gemueth	Rist
Aus tiefer Noth schrei' ich zu Dir	Luther
Liebser Jesu wir sind hier	Clausnitzer
Lobe den Herren, den naechtigen Koenig	Neander
Befiel du deine Wege	Gerhardt
Grosser Gott, wir loben Dich	
Ich bete an die Macht die Liebe	Terstegen
Gott ist gegen waertig	Terstegen
Wenn ich, O Schoepfer! deine Macht	Geller
Come Thou Almighty King	Wesley
All hail the power of Jesus' name	Perronet
Holy, Holy, Holy! Lord God Almighty	Heber
Rock of Ages, Cleft for me	Toplady
My faith looks up to Thee	Palmer
When I survey the wondrous cross	Watts

Perhaps the diagram on page 17 will illustrate what I mean by a God-centered hymn. The vertical bar of the cross represents the God-centered type of hymn, while the horizontal bar represents the hymn of admonition to fellowman. We must have both types.

4. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a cheap, shallow, sentimental, materialistic type of hymn has crept into hymnology, and even into our hymn books. This type of hymn is concerned too much with an activistic, admonistic, somatotonic type of life and not enough with the cerebrotonic, mystical, God-centered type of life. The reason for the development of this type of hymn is undoubtedly due to the experimental attitude adopted in the later part of the nineteenth century in the fields of science, philosophy, literature, art, music, and even religion. The experimental attitude is undoubtedly necessary in some areas of human expression, and may even be advisable in religion, to some extent. However when we try to express such great and profound experiences

Father
forgive
them, for
they know
not what
they do.

Go ye into all the world, and teach all nations, Baptizing them
in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the
Holy Ghost.

God
so loved
the world,
that He
gave
His only
begotten
Son,
that
who-so
believeth
on Him
should
not perish,
but have
everlasting
life.

as the death of Jesus Christ on the Cross of Calvary in such little jingles, rhymes, and musical sentimental ditties as—

All the way to Calvary,
To Calvary, to Calvary
All the way to Calvary
Jesus went for me.

We are making of religion and religious truths only a pale veneering which will not stand many tests of the storm. This type of hymn is too smug, irreverent, self-complacent, and makes of religion a small trite, and common place thing. Percy Dearmer, the great English hymnologist thinks that the singing of this type of hymn for the past three quarters of a century is one of the chief reasons for empty church pews today. It is true that Christ went ALL the way to Calvary for us. What are we, in our personal lives, doing about it?

The truth of Calvary is expressed in a wonderful manner poetically and musically, in the following hymn by John Bowring and Ithmar Conkey.

In the Cross of Christ I glory,
Tow'ring o'er the wrecks of time;
All the light of sacred story
Gathers round its head sublime.

When the woes of life o'ertake me,
Hopes deceive, and fears annoy,
Never shall the Cross forsake me:
Lo! it glows with peace and joy.

When the sun of bliss is beaming
Light and love upon my way,
From the Cross the radiance streaming,
Adds new lustre to the day.

Bane and blessing, pain and pleasure,
By the Cross are sanctified;
Peace is there that knows no measure,
Joys that through all time abide.

The mystical, reverent, and profound hymn, "God reveals His pre-

sence" by Tersteegen, also expresses this truth as well as other truths in an exquisite manner.

God reveals His presence:
Let us now adore Him,
And with awe appear before Him.
God is in His temple:
All within keep silence,
Prostrate lie with deepest rev'rence.
Him alone God we own,
Him our God and Savior:
Praise His name forever.

God reveals His presence:
Hear the harps resounding;
See the crowds the throne surrounding;
"Holy, holy, holy!"
Hear the hymn ascending,
Angels, saints, their voices blending.
Bow Thine ear To us here;
Hearken, O Lord Jesus,
To our meaner praises.

O Thou Fount of blessing
Purify my spirit,
Trusting only to Thy merit:
Like the holy angels
Who behold Thy glory,
May I ceaselessly adore Thee.
Let Thy will Ever still
Rule Thy Church terrestrial,
As the hosts celestial.

Reverence without progressiveness may be stupid; but progressiveness without reverence is foolish and wicked.

5. Still another thing stands out very clearly in a study of our hymnology.

I have already mentioned the fact that hymns that concerned themselves with church doctrine were found in our earlier hymn books. This fact is nothing peculiar to the Mennonite church, as other denominations also made use of doctrinal and didactic hymns. It is interesting to note that slowly, very, very slowly, this type

of hymn is deleted from our hymn books. Of course, if something is omitted and dropped one wonders what shall take its place—if anything.

Hymns that deify the state have slowly and insidiously but very certainly crept into hymnology. Quoting from a hymn written in 1918 by Cecil Spring-Rice, former Ambassador to the United States from England, we have the following:

I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love;
The love that asks no question, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

You react quite naturally by saying: but Mennonites do not sing that hymn. You are right this hymn is not sung by Mennonites but others of a very similar philosophy have been sung and are being sung by the Mennonites.

May I mention but a few.

Herr, der du vermals hast unser land
Mit Gnaden angeblicket

—Gerhardt, 1606-1676

This hymn is found in the *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und Haeuslichen Gebrauch*, 1850, also in *Gesangbuch, worn eine Sammlung Geistreicher Lieder befindlich*, the editions of 1785, 1803, 1829, and 1843. It is found in still other of our hymn books but maybe this list will suffice.

Gott, Herrseher uber alle Thronen

—Hiller, 1699-1769

This hymn is found in the new Canadian *Gesangbuch der Mennoniten*, 1942.

Jehovah, Herr und Koenig

—Hiller, 1699-1769

This hymn is found in *Gesangbuch der Mennoniten*, and in *Gesangbuch Mit Noten*, in most editions.

Der Thron der Weltbeherrscher ist

—Muenther, 1735-1793

This hymn is found in *Gesangbuch der Mennoniten*, 1942, and in

Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in Mennoniten Gemeinden Ruszlands, 1892.

Zieh denn jugendliche Schar

—Harder

In Deiner Staerke freue sich der Konig allezeit

—Cramer, 1723-1788

These hymns are found in *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in Mennoniten Gemeinden Ruszlands*, 1892.

Erhalte, Herr die Obrigkeit

This hymn is found in *Allgemeine Lieder sommung*, 1871.

Vater, kroene du mit Segen

Unser Kaiser und sein Haus

—Huelsenmaun, 1781.

This hymn is found in *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen und haeuslichen Gebrauch in Mennoniten Gemeinden Ruszlands*, 1892.

In our hymnals in the English language, the outstanding song of this type is *God of our fathers, known of old*, by Kipling.

Maybe this list of hymns will suffice to show that the hymn that deifies the state has found a considerable place in our hymn books. What about hymns that stress our peace principal? The hymn, *Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus*, by Lenaert Kloch, which had found a place in many of our hymn books since near the close of the sixteenth century, disappears completely from our hymn books after 1850, or soon thereafter.

The thinking and philosophy that is revealed in this type of hymn by the poets who wrote them came from Calvin, Hobbes, Hegel, Fichte, Steinmetz, Kant, and others, without a doubt. Sorokin states that "not only the arts but all the main components of a culture—its science and philosophy, its ethics and law, its forms of social, political, and economic organization—are inter-related and have changed their form at the same time and in the same direction."

In some of our later hymn books in the English language this type of hymn gives way more to hymns related to peace, international good-will, etc.

IN CONCLUSION

The Mennonite Church has a rich heritage of hymnology. We perhaps have not contributed very much, nor as we should have,

to this heritage for the use of future generations. Why cannot some of our people write hymns?

Congregational singing in the main is quite healthy in our churches. Let us see to it that we keep it so and if possible improve it. I quote from *Musical Ministries* by Waldo S. Pratt: "Hymn singing may surely be called successful when it affords an avenue for true approach to God in earnest and noble worship."

May we always realize that there is a power in hymn singing—some men say even more power than in the spoken work—and use our hymns aright. Dr. Lorenz in his book, *The Singing Church* says: "The congregational hymn is a poem expressing worship, praise, thanksgiving, and prayer on the Godward side; personal spiritual experience, emotion, and inspiration on the human side; and instruction on the religious side."

DEVELOPMENTS IN MENNONITE PREACHING TO THE LATER YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Roy Umble

An introductory study of Mennonite preaching reveals that preaching was and is an essential form and part of Mennonite worship. Singing, Scripture reading, and praying are also important, but the emphasis in the worship service was preaching the Gospel—the Word of God. The length of the sermon and its place in the service indicate that the ministers and elders planned and approved of this emphasis. The sermon or sermons and the testimonies following the sermon have been delivered with a very few exceptions by the brethren who are ordained; bishops, preachers, and deacons. The spoken word has held a high place in the Mennonite “service.” Even the title of the minister suggests this emphasis. He was “*der Diener zum Buch*” (the servant, or minister, to the Book) or “*der Diener des Worts*” (the minister of the word). His ordination charge indicates that he is authorized to read the Word. In some of the Amish ordination charges which research has brought to light within the last few years, this part of his duties seems to be taken for granted and only other special duties are mentioned in the charge.¹ Further support for this point of view on the importance of preaching may be obtained in reviewing the programs of conferences, the biographies of church leaders, the floor plans and the location of the pulpit in the “meeting house.”

In this paper we shall touch on the various periods of Mennonite preaching as the record has been preserved by the historians of other days and as it is today being reconstructed by the historians and students of sociology of religion. Records are often merely suggestive; sometimes one sentence or short paragraph will summarize the impression of an unidentified observer toward a speaker, his message, or his congregation. Only a few of the many variables in a public speaking speaker-audience situation are reported and a critical analysis from a rhetorical point of view is lacking. A detailed rhetorical study of Menno Simons, for example, would

1. John Umble, “Amish Ordination Charges,” in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XIII (October, 1939), 233-50 and XV (April, 1941), 94-117. For the chapters prescribed by Amish custom or tradition to be read throughout the year in the Sunday morning worship service, see also John Umble, “Amish Service Manuals,” in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XV (January, 1941), 26-32.

be very difficult since we have neither the manuscripts nor the outlines of his spoken sermons. Neither do we know his method of sermon preparation, organization, or delivery. Some suggestions of his material and organization and style may be found in his writings. However, the student of rhetoric and homiletics can not be sure from the external nor the internal evidence that the written essay was similar to the oral sermon in content, organization, or style. In each period of Mennonite history a few contemporaries have recorded enough to give us a fairly satisfactory overview.

This fact is pointed out also by C. S. Baldwin in the discussion of medieval preaching in his book on *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*.

"... the history of oratory, though often baffling, is not hopeless. So perishable that it can never be quite recaptured, oratory may be so charged that even through imperfect record much often transpires. For any given period its records not only reveal much of the habit of the time, but conversely can often be so interpreted by that habit as to become really significant.²

For all periods of Anabaptist history records and materials for the study of preaching are scant, but whatever are available reflect the spirit and content of preaching.

Oratory, currently referred to as public address, may be defined as the energizing of a message by a speaker for a particular audience. In the terms of this paper the speaker is the preacher or pastor and the audience is the congregation. Selected definitions of preaching help to narrow our field. In a talk on "Effective Preaching" at Landis Valley, Pennsylvania, in 1934, Bishop Noah Mack stated:

"Effective preaching is that preaching which causes hearts and minds to be interested and even stirred by what is being said in the sermon; causing sinners to repent, bringing light and comfort to the seeker and causing saints to consecrate themselves more fully... Truth spoken from the heart will reach hearts and minds.³

Another definition, handed down from the fifth century by St. Augustine, outlines the aims or purposes of preaching:

"... the eloquence of the church, when it seeks to have something done, must not only explain to instruct, and please to hold, but also move to win.⁴

St. Augustine's definition becomes even more important when we

2. C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, (Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 229

3. Noah Mack, "Effective Preaching," *Gospel Herald*, XXVII (1934), p. 196.

4. C. S. Baldwin, op. cit., p. 66.

remember that he wrote when public oratory was in a period of decay. The political power of the state determined the limits of the subject matter of the orator. This domination led him to refrain from public statement on important questions, or to deal with them superficially. Professor Baldwin indicates that the great emphasis of the sophists on victory at any price had led to a need for a new motive. He points out further that St. Augustine's classic work on Christian rhetoric, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Book IV

"goes back over centuries of the lore of personal triumph to the ancient idea of moving men to truth; and it gives to the vital counsels of Cicero a new emphasis for the urgent tasks of preaching the word of God."⁵

The big concept in the above quotation is "truth." More than six centuries earlier Aristotle defined rhetoric (oral discourse) as "discovering the available means of persuasion." The "available means" would include all information on the subject under consideration. Aristotle set a high standard, but no higher than St. Augustine. St. Augustine took it for granted that the preacher must present truth and that for the presentation of that truth he should be prepared and trained since those who present untruth will be trained and will present their deception in an able manner. There is a vivid contrast in the following statement by St. Augustine between the man who presents truth ineffectively and the man who presents untruth effectively.

"Who dare say that the defenders of truth should be unarmed against falsehood? While the proponents of error know the art of winning an audience to good will, attention, and open mind, shall the proponents of truth remain ignorant? While the (sophist) states facts concisely, clearly, plausibly, shall the preacher state them so that they are tedious to hear, hard to understand, hard to believe? While the one attacks truth and insinuates falsehood by fallacious argument, shall the other have too little skill either to defend the true or to refute the false? Shall the one, stirring his hearers to error, urging them by the force of oratory, move them by terror, by pity, by joy, by encouragement and the other slowly and coldly drowse for truth?"⁶

Augustine's position is approved by rhetoricians today; his high purposes have stood the test of time. Some critics of oratory (and preaching training) seeing the misuse of the art cry out against it and separate themselves from it. Others looking at the same misuse or abuse will be challenged to avail themselves of every oppor-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 57. For a more literal translation, see also St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, p. 47, 49. Translated by Sister Theresa Sullivan. Ph. D. dissertation, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

tunity to improve the effectiveness of their presentation of truth.

Preaching, then, may be defined as the presenting and energizing of Spiritual Truth through oral discourse. The preacher presents the Holy Scriptures and exhorts his congregation to live a holy life. In addition to clear instruction and effective attention values, the preacher tries to move his congregation to action, to consistent Christian living. In the classification of Aristotle, preaching as a division of oral discourse would be a type of occasional speaking, the panegyric. The other inclusive categories are forensic (legal pleading) and deliberative (legislative consideration) rhetoric. In each type of speaking the speaker (preacher) should be thought of as speaking to a particular audience (congregation) at a particular time and place.

The student of Mennonite preaching theory and practice is impressed first of all with the true humility and unselfishness of the better known preachers and speakers. He feels that this has been and still is a basic quality of Mennonite preaching. Statements in recent interviews with Mennonite ministers and direct evidence in the sermons indicate, in part, this attitude. Many imply or state directly that they do not stand in the pulpit alone. One said, "I speak what the Holy Spirit has given me." Another, "The Lord is speaking through me, his servant."

An incident that bears out this idea of preaching by inspiration is reported in connection with a recent old Order Wisler Mennonite service in Northern Indiana. The minister as is customary in their services was reading the chapter prescribed as the basis for the sermon for that Sunday. In the course of his sermon he read two or three verses from the Bible, paused and then said half apologetically, "Those are beautiful verses, and one could say many beautiful things about them if it would be *given* to him." Then a brief pause, and a quiet almost apologetic smile, "But nothing is *given* to me." Then after another pause he read a few more verses and continued his sermon.

During conversation on Mennonite preaching with several of the Mennonite (Old) preachers, I was told something like this, "You don't have to include me; I know there are others whose sermons were better than mine." Or as one kind elderly brother explained his feeling, "In a discussion of a limited number of sermons by Mennonite preachers, I think that it would be wise to omit any

statement that these are the best sermons or that this man or these men were the most effective preachers." In the *Gospel Herald*, June 27, 1908, John F. Funk reported "Our Trip East," including in it an account of an evening meeting:

"In the evening (May 7), Brother Lambert and the writer filled an appointment in the Souderton, M. H., where a large number of people were present, who were very attentive listeners to the remarks and teaching, in weakness given by the speakers. . . ."⁷

In listening to or in reading these statements one gains the impression that the humility is genuine. The possibility of an exception does not remove this element from our further consideration. These men point to the fact that they are not working alone (and are therefore willing to share their results and praise). I acknowledge that it may not be possible to weigh this variable but it is necessary to recognize it and to admit the effectiveness of the Spirit-filled preacher. St. Augustine explained, "I feel that I have accomplished something not when I hear them applauding but when I see them weeping."⁸ Forgetting personal gain or popularity the preacher aims to bring salvation to the individuals in his congregation.

A second problem is the consideration of time and historical perspective. In order to avoid in the study of Mennonite preaching the "historical fallacy" we must be willing to try to reconstruct all the essential factors in the awareness of the contemporary "climate of opinion:" the attitudes of the speaker, his reputation, the responses of the audience, the major issues of that day, the group action and interaction. It is inaccurate and perhaps at times unfair to evaluate a speaker in terms of only (1) his contemporary period or (2) the present.

A third concern is the problem of the many variables in a speaker-audience situation. Occasionally one finds a person whose definition of preaching, speaking, oratory, or public address is limited to (1) the use of the hands; (2) the use of the voice. Delivery is an essential of public speaking, but no student of public speaking can omit the more important elements: the purpose of the speech; the ideas; the subject matter—illustrations, quotations, and facts; the modes of appeal; the organization; the clearness,

7. John F. Funk, "Our Trip East," *Gospel Herald*, (June 27, 1908), I, p. 204. Cf. John Umble, *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools*, (Mennonite Historical Society, 1941), p. 19.

8. C. S. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

accuracy, and force of the style. The variables in the speaking-preaching situation also include the audience and the occasion. In this study of Mennonite preaching we now turn to the various periods to determine some of the pertinent background of the speaker, the subject, and the audience. For purpose of this paper Mennonite preaching may be said to fall roughly into the following phases:

1. Learned Anabaptist Founders.
2. Unlearned Successors of Early Anabaptist Leaders.
3. Written and Printed Sermons.
4. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Successors of No. 2 and No. 3.

The Learned Anabaptist Founders

In the period of the founding of the Anabaptist movement, many of the leaders were trained men, young Catholic priests; some were educated in the universities of Switzerland, Germany or Austria. During the unrest in the first half of the 16th century, Conrad Grebel, his co-workers, and followers may have been familiar with St. Augustine's work on preaching.

Their first reform meetings were held with the approval of Zwingli. In these early meetings one can scarcely say that there was "preaching" as we understand it; instead there was reading and discussion of the scriptures. It may be safe to say that this became the tradition of Anabaptist and later Mennonite preaching. The preacher read the Scripture and commented on it as the Holy Spirit gave him utterance. In a certain sense this is the present concept of Old Order Mennonite and Old Order Amish preaching.

The leaders of the early Anabaptist Bible study groups were called readers. "They read and expounded the Scriptures . . . In Zurich, Andreas Castelberger, Felix Manz and Conrad Grebel were the most prominent 'readers.'"⁹ The reports indicate that the meetings were well attended, but by January 21, 1525, the movement was opposed by law. Increasing conflict between Grebel and Zwingli brought further limitation on the activities of the Anabaptists. In his article in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, July, 1933, entitled

9. John Horsch, "The Rise and Early History of the Swiss Brethren Church," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VI (Oct. 1932), 227-49.

led "The Struggle between Zwingli and the Swiss Brethren in Zurich," John Horsch explained further:

"The Swiss Brethren had no adequate means for publicly defending their position . . . The discussions which Zwingli had with them in March of the same year have been also generally considered debates, although on these occasions the leaders of the Brethren were merely brought before Zwingli and were permitted to answer such questions as he would ask them. He, however, failed to concede them the right or give them the opportunity to express themselves freely and fully . . . According to Bullinger the Brethren asserted that, "although a debate was held with us, we have never had a real opportunity to defend our position, for Zwingli does not permit any one of his opponents to express himself freely," "he cuts them off short and sometimes does not let them say anything, and thus maintains his cause not by God's Word but by his multitude of loud words and by the power of the government."¹⁰

Within the limitations imposed, the Anabaptist leaders were given a few opportunities to present their beliefs before the Council or before a selected group of judges. One example was the debate on baptism in November, 1525.

"Zwingli, on the one side, and Grebel, Manz and Blaurock, on the other were the principal spokesmen . . . Zwingli had formulated the questions for the debate. He did most of the talking and handled the representatives of the Brethren, who stood before him as prisoners, rather roughly. He knew in advance that the judges and Council would decide in his favor."¹¹

The report of another debate shows us not only the same inevitable outcome, but also the arguments used and the logical progression within the argument.

" . . . On December 9, 1531, . . . Butzer and Marpeck met before the city council for a disputation . . . The debate proceeded about as one would anticipate. Marpeck defended believers' baptism; charged the Reformed clergy with preaching under political protection, with taking an unchristian attitude to Anabaptism . . . Butzer claimed that infant baptism was an apostolic practice and said it was also justified because the Old Testament circumcision was a rite performed on infants. And he charged Marpeck with lacking in love in thus destroying the unity of the church. . . (It was Butzer's opinion that) Marpeck is gifted above the average, but for teaching Christ and directing churches he is altogether stupid."¹²

The preachers and leaders were restricted in their public utterances but it is important to note that the record left indicates

10. *Ibid.*, VII (July, 1933) p. 143.

11. John Horsch, "Origin and Faith of the Swiss Brethren," *Review Supplement*, (January, 1926) p. 6.

12. John C. Wenger, "Pilgrim Marpeck," *Church History*, IX (March, 1940), p. 23.

that they were well qualified to present their views and that they presented them in an able manner. Adherents to the state church feared the able presentation of these men. During this time the persecution continued; Christians who differed in belief and practice from the established religion of the city or state fled for their lives. The unsuccessful attempt to stamp out the desire for religious reform created new communities and also created the need for new leaders and preachers. Dr. Wenger's article in the March, 1940, *Church History*, on "Pilgrim Marpeck" gives a summary of the situation in Strasbourg and suggests some of the causes for Marpeck's effectiveness.

"And by the spring of 1529 one hundred Augsburg Anabaptists had sought refuge in Strasbourg. These poor souls looked to Marpeck for pastoral help, although we have no record of the dates of his ordination to the ministry and to the eldership. We do know that he removed from the Stein Valley to the city in 1530.

Evidently a man of personal charm and of persuasive powers, Marpeck's influence was soon felt in the religious circles of Strasbourg."¹³

Historians of the Anabaptist beginnings whether sympathetic or critical agree that the early leaders were threatened with the death penalty for a number of their acts related to religious beliefs and rites. Christian Hege submits a list of restrictions in his study of "The Early Anabaptist in Hesse."

"The following acts were threatened with the death penalty; unauthorized preaching or conducting of services in the forest, in out of the way barren places, or in houses which stood alone, and the intentional attendance of such meetings; rejection of civil authority, rejection of obedience of the authorities; return after expulsion."¹⁴

In other sections the civil authorities considered the feeding and sheltering of an Anabaptist as a crime. Under such circumstances we can understand why the records of these early years are not available in any great detail. Anabaptists were persecuted as they moved from place to place. They were forbidden to meet and therefore all information relating to secret meetings was held in confidence by the ministers and the congregations. This was in fact an underground movement. It is not difficult to imagine the secrecy that would surround the ordination of a minister to replace a leader who had suffered martyrdom because of his preaching

13. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

14. Christian Hege, "The Early Anabaptists in Hesse," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, (July, 1931), p. 163.

activities. It is doubtful whether they kept lists of the members of their groups. Such lists, if found, would betray leaders and members alike. The "public" debates were not held to give the Brethren an opportunity to win anyone, but rather they were held to convince them of their error in their heretical views on infant baptism, non-swearing of oaths, relation of church and state and other differences including voluntary church membership. Some of the men who were most effective in doctrine and argument paid with their lives for their boldness and conviction along with others who had said nothing and made little or no attempt to explain or defend their views.

Persecutions were delayed in Holland and therefore the baptism-minded Brethren in the north were allowed greater freedom of movement and of statement than in Switzerland. In less than twenty years, however, the edict of Charles V against Menno Simons caused him to move to East Friesland away from Groningen where he had been "earnestly laboring in behalf of his chosen cause—preaching, baptizing, writing, ordaining other elders and organizing the growing church."¹⁵ It was forbidden to "give him shelter, food or drink, or even speak with him, or read any of his books under penalty of loss of property and life as a heretic."¹⁶ Although at first Menno Simons hesitated to accept the ordination of minister, he later entered into the work wholeheartedly. A few of his attitudes toward the preacher and the work of the preacher are found in C. Henry Smith's *Story of the Mennonites* in the account of the debate between Menno Simons and the Polish Reformer, a'Lasco.

"The discussion, which lasted for three days, centered about the main issue which separated Anabaptists from the state churches—baptism and its allied doctrines, to which were added several others, the calling of ministers and the doctrine of the incarnation.

On the question of baptism, Menno advanced the well-known arguments familiar to all Anabaptists, while a'Lasco reviewed the common ground held by all the state churches. On the calling of the ministers also both covered familiar ground already so frequently advanced by earlier champions in various discussions. A'Lasco favored a theologically trained, state controlled ministry, well fed and clothed at Public expense. Menno, on the other hand, advocated a ministry selected from the congregation without reference to theological training, but of a regenerated life, and supported by voluntary contributions. He was especially bitter against benefices, fat livings, and exalted positions of the state

15. C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, (Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, 1930), p. 102.

16. *Ibid.*

preachers of the Gospel whom he often spoke of as hirelings."¹⁷

This reveals the basic issues of the debates and indicates the probable doctrinal themes of the sermons. At first these debates may appear as opportunities to clarify the position of the Anabaptist reformers. More frequently the publicity of the disputation led to further persecutions. Having been brought out into the open, the little group was soon forced to move. The civil and political, as well as the state church authorities, united to "win" these debates; what they lacked in truth they provided in political pressure and opposition. Outward appearances would indicate that the speaking and preaching of the Anabaptist leaders was effective only among their own group.

The subjects covered in the various debates reveal the issue of the period; they also show the dominant doctrines which may have been explained to the congregations in the Bible study and reading groups and the Sunday or secret evening meetings. This was the beginning of the period of the formation of the great statements of the Church as later recorded in the Dordrecht Confession of 1632. They evidently thought of debate as religious controversy rather than as the winning of immediate victories through legal pleading. Issues were well chosen and ably defended. Truth was their concern, and the ultimate triumph of that God-given truth was more important than the vote of the judges or the approval of the supporters of the state church.

The reports of the debates and the evidence available in the writings of these men show that their sermons would have been carefully planned doctrinal discussions supported by Biblical quotations and authority, especially from the New Testament and the examples of the New Testament Church. Numerous examples of full length sermons are not available. It is perhaps the same difficulty that confronted the biographers of so well known a preacher as the Presbyterian John Knox (1505-1572). In the most complete work on Knox, a seven volume compilation, John Laing includes only six sermons, although Knox probably preached hundreds if not thousands of full-length sermons and religious discourses before church congregations and religious groups in England, in Scotland, and on the Continent.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

The reports of the Bible "readers" with their reading and expounding of the Holy Word, the specific issues dealt with in the debates, the simple brief statement in reply to difficult questions, the logical Biblical support for propositions chosen by their religious and political opponents, the high respect for their ability and available information, the conviction of the leaders that their cause was right and the New Testament ideal toward which they worked—all this stands in contrast to the symbolism and sophistry of much of the speaking and preaching of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. During these centuries the most important type of speaking, whether political or theological both in quantity and quality, was occasional. Many of the Sundays of the year had been designated as a special celebration for a particular occasion—saint or sacrament or religious observance. However, whether in Holland or Switzerland or in small villages between, the Anabaptist founders did not stress occasions nor form; they believed in experience and in Christian witnessing. It followed from this belief that they should emphasize that the preacher must represent the same high calling as his group. He must be a noble and worthy example. The preacher spoke not only for an occasion but also for a "cause." His subject matter was the plain word of God and was suitable for every occasion.

Menno Simons' summary of his reasons for preaching the Word of God set forth clearly his own interpretation of his calling and the great opportunity and responsibility of the Christian preacher.

"Behold, worthy reader, since the whole world has become degenerated in the doctrines, sacraments and life which are pleasing to God, and prefer falsehood to truth, and unrighteousness to righteousness; have committed themselves to all manner of false teachings, false ceremonies and a carnal life—therefore, since I clearly see this awful disesteem of the holy word of God, and the condemnation of unnumberable thousands of souls, whom Jesus Christ has so dearly bought and ransomed by his precious blood,—therefore I cannot be silent; for the honor and praise of my Lord and God are at stake, and it avails to the salvation of my poor erring brother, although it may perchance be at the risk of my life. Who knows but that God, through me and my beloved brethren who are, and who shall be, has chosen and provided in his grace, that some of those who now unconsciously err, may be brought to a true faith in Jesus."¹⁸

The preacher, then, is not only a man who speaks but a man who lives in the newness of life of which he speaks. "At the core of

18. Menno Simons, *His Works*, Quoted in *The Herald of Truth*, XXVIII (Sept. 15, 1891), p. 278.

the Anabaptist vision was the demand for "an outward expression of the inner experience. Repentance must be 'evidenced' by newness of behavior."¹⁹

Unlearned Anabaptist Successors

The emphasis on sincerity, simple statement, and Biblical truth as found in the Bible and as illuminated by the Holy Spirit continued during the years of the persecution and migration and martyrdom. In the early debates on religious questions the trained leaders were more than a match for their opponents. By the end of the sixteenth century the situation was much changed; leaders had been killed or had been forced to flee. The later leaders or spokesmen had been denied the opportunities of special training. The Frankental debates in South Germany are an example.

"In many ways this was an unequal contest. The Mennonite spokesmen were simple working men, and although in exact knowledge of the Scriptures they excelled the state church representatives, they were no theologians. 'We are not able to answer your questions,' said one of them, 'except in the simple language of the Bible. It seems strange to us that you should persist in asking us many questions that are beyond us.'²⁰

"They represented their beliefs in plain words of the Bible. Although they agreed with their opponents in a number of doctrines they could not agree on questions regarding infant baptism, non-resistance, government and others. The Mennonites, rooted deeply in the Bible, could not be persuaded to join the established church."²¹

Written and Printed Sermons

In the period which followed (seventeenth century) the work of other leaders is recorded for us by their printed books. Two notable examples are Hans deRies and Jacob Denner. In his review of Mennonite Prayer Books in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, October, 1943, Robert Friedmann credits deRies with the authorship of the first Mennonite prayer literature, ca. 1610 A.D. This information relates to the preaching and worship service since the prayers were prepared for and used with the preaching service. Up to this time silent prayer was used. Early in the seventeenth century, the controversy within the church, especially in Holland, lead to open consideration of silent prayer and audible prayer. Professor Friedmann quotes F. S. Knipscheer as follows:

"these prayers, designed to be used before and after the sermon,

19. Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XVIII (April, 1944), p. 79.

20. C. Henry Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

21. Cornelius Krahn, "Times of Trial," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, Feb. 24, 1944.

give the impression of having been drawn up with the intention that the minister should read them aloud."²²

The place of the written or read prayer in the service is significant as is also the reference to "the" sermon.

The changes in the prayer tradition seem to have run somewhat as follows: 1) silent prayer; 2) silent prayer and some audible prayer; 3) reading aloud of printed prayers and silent prayer; 4) reading aloud from printed prayers and some extemporaneous prayer; 5) audible extemporaneous prayer by an individual. The present-day Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites continue to make use of silent prayer in their services, but the closing prayer is read from a prayer book. Most other groups make use of the extemporaneous audible prayer by an individual.

Samples of the preaching of Jacob Denner (1659-1746) are preserved for us in his book called *Sermons*. It followed the tradition of the printed copies of the confessions of faith and the prayer books. The book tells us a great deal about the preaching, the minister and the congregation. Even the subtitle which explains that it is a collection of sermons for the whole year suggests the Catholic and State Church background. In January, 1943, Professor Friedmann told me that in any work in public speaking or preaching among the Mennonite, I should be sure to include some mention of Denner's book. Its significance is indicated by its extensive use in Mennonite services. Denner's book has enjoyed wide circulation in this country as well as in Europe.

"According to tradition (1792) (John) Herstein and (John) Schmutz went over to Germany and brought their 500 books of Denner's sermons to America. They divided the books between them each taking . . . 250 copies of the sermons and started out to sell them . . . Herstein visited the brethren in Montgomery and Bucks County and quickly disposed of his lot . . . Denner's sermons were reprinted in Philadelphia in 1860."²³

A similar book was published containing ten sermons of Wilhelm Wynantz who died in 1658 one year before Denner was born. One copy of this book in the Goshen College Historical Library was printed in Lancaster by Johann Bar in 1830. The title page names Wynantz, "diener des Worts an der Gemeinde zu Altona, 1654." Another collection of the same type are the eight sermons of Johannes Deknatel, printed at Buedingen in 1758. The Mennonite

22. Robert Friedman, "Mennonite Prayer Books," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XVII (Oct., 1943), p. 179-183.

23. John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference*, p. 323.

Historical Library at Goshen College has two copies. Following in this same tradition is S. F. Sprunger's *Festklaenge*, printed in 1891. It is a collection of sermons by Mennonite preachers in the United States, Russia, Germany, Poland, Bavaria, and Switzerland. In an editorial in the *Gospel Herald* of October 28, 1909, the editor reports the printing of a "strictly orthodox" two volume collection of fifty-two sermons printed in (?) 1909. It was "designed principally for such as for some cause find it impossible to attend public worship."

The quick sale of the books and the availability of copies from different printings would indicate that many copies, perhaps hundreds, were sold in Mennonite communities and were a part of the limited family library in Mennonite homes. The printing and re-printing of sermons, the selling of the books, and the use of the sermons in the preaching at the meeting house was not at all similar to the method of the Bible "reader" in the early days of Grebel, Manz and Blaurock. It is hoped that further study and analysis of these books of sermons may reveal a more complete historical and rhetorical significance.

Mennonite Preaching in America

The colonization in America (at Germantown, 1683) does not introduce a new period or phase, but seems rather to follow the North German tradition of reading a sermon instead of preaching by inspiration. At first the colony was small and historians of the period agree that in the beginning they had no ordained preacher. Therefore, they "endeavored to admonish one another" and a group of sixteen families "lovingly meet every Sunday when a Menist, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon from a book by Jobst Harmensen." Later William Rittenhouse was elected preacher. For a time he was the only preacher and he read the sermons. The name of William Rittenhouse is well known among Mennonites as the first Mennonite preacher in America. However, Dr. Bender admits that

"of the activities of William Rittenhouse (1644-1708) as the first Mennonite preacher in America very little is known. It seems that he read his own sermons or read other sermons from books, and naturally used only the Dutch language . . . In 1702, at a second election two other preachers were chosen. . . These two administered to the church by reading (of the Scriptures? or sermons?) only."²⁵

24. Harold S. Bender, "The Founding . . . Germantown," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VII (Oct. 1933), p. 230.
25. *Ibid.*, VII (April, 1934), p. 227.

In the period since Germantown, it is somewhat more difficult to generalize on preaching methods, subject matter and sermon preparation. In one of his few direct references to preaching in *Glimpses of Mennonite History*, Professor Wenger gives an excellent overview.

"Preaching in the early meetings was simple and Biblical, packed with admonitions to live a life separated from the world and to walk close to God. Oftentimes the preachers were also school-teachers of the community and were leading men in the congregation. The chief work of the preacher was to conduct the Sunday service, not to furnish spiritual life in lieu of any effort on the part of his congregation . . . It was the proclamation of the Word of God which was to occupy the preacher.²⁶

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries two types of preaching stand out. One is the preaching of inspiration. The other we shall call rote preaching. The former is characterized by a strong emotional appeal based on a deep concern and gaining power from the personal life of the preacher. The latter is characterized by much repeating and some exhortation to holy living, but it lacks conviction and persuasive power since the ideas and even the phrases have been too often repeated and too little understood by speaker or by audience. The preaching of inspiration was not limited to the older men in the ministerial group, but this type of sermon was best adapted to an older man who could illustrate everything he said with abundant personal and Biblical examples. The rote preaching was too often an unsuccessful attempt to copy the idea, organization, and even style of someone else who was older, more experienced, or better trained. Sermon preparation in the modern sense was unknown and no preacher spoke from written notes.

One contemporary Mennonite and Amish historian describes his reaction to the preaching of inspiration which he calls the worthy successor of early Anabaptist preaching.

" . . . I wish you could have seen, as I did, audiences spell-bound by the messages, chanted prophet-like, packed with emotion, and based on an intimate knowledge of Scripture story and of Biblical ethical teaching. Reports of Amish conferences refer to some of the great "extempore" sermons delivered by well-known ministers who were called on "on the spur of the moment."

26. John C. Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History*, (Mennonite Publishing House, 1940), p. 60.

These sermons of course were partly or wholly committed to memory, but not because they had been written out to be committed to memory. They were studied, rehearsed, possibly even chanted orally out in the field between the plow handles or following the harrow day after day over the plowed ground As a boy on communion Sunday I listened all forenoon to the stories of the patriarchs and the prophets leading finally to the prophecies of the coming of the Messiah. Then after a quiet lunch at the church at noon we sat down again to listen to Bishop John Warye or Bishop Jonas Yoder as they presented the life, death, and sufferings of Jesus. They timed their sermon so that it closed at three o'clock, the hour of Jesus' death. Then with the audience melted to tears by the vivid portrayal of the event and the emotional power of the speaker's chanting and his manner, they quietly observed communion.²⁷

Allowing for the possibility that not everyone was moved in quite the same way, this impression is vivid and leaves little doubt that the preacher knew his purpose and achieved it to a great degree. Many similar examples might be cited, but probably many sermons were dry and uninteresting, merely a repetition of worn-out phrases.

In Mennonite communities the entire family attended the meeting. This included all the members of the family who were physically able to be present. It is possible under such circumstances that some of the younger boys found the services uninteresting or difficult. One Mennonite historian in writing his autobiography recalls a typical "service" and reports it as he perhaps thought of it in his boyhood.

"The services, conducted in the German language, were long and dry, designed primarily for sedate adults, with little to attract the small boy. The day's worship began with a session for the preachers in the "little room," where the special orders of the day were decided upon—who should deliver the introductory remarks, who preach the main sermon, and such other details as the occasion might demand. No preacher could be sure as to who would be called on to deliver the sermon for the day until the question was passed upon at this meeting. It behooved every minister to be ready every Sunday upon a moment's notice, though each one was likely to take his turn, but since the Holy Spirit was to guide the speaker in what he was to say, special preparation was not thought absolutely necessary. After an hour or so in conference, during which the congregation in the main audience room spent the time in singing old-time, slow-going hymns, the long line of ministers filed out of the "kaemmerle" and each took his place on the long preachers' bench.

"The introductory remarks in charge of one of the newer ministers still serving his apprenticeship, or perhaps, a deacon, varied in length according to the ability of the speaker, and ended with a formal prayer more or less memorized from a prayer book. The main sermon was delivered by one of the more experienced ministers. It was usually of an exhortatory nature, or a running

27. John Umble. letter to author, August 6, 1944.

comment on Scriptural passages, often copiously interspersed with warning against the temptations of the world,—fine clothes, questionable amusements, and such other worldly diversions in general as are dear to the heart of every unregenerated small boy. It was always too long; by the time all the ministers on the bench had testified as to the truth of what was said by the main speaker it was far past noon.²⁸

The above picture vivid and typical though it may be would not be complete without the equally accurate observation concerning the ethical persuasion evinced by the life and character of the speaker. The author of the above statement concludes his comments on preaching by saying:

"The sermon may have been unattractive, but the preacher was usually a man of deep piety, strict personal honesty, and of the highest moral integrity."²⁹

The following conclusions seem justified in the light of study thus far completed and dealing, in the most recent period, largely with the Old Mennonite group:

1. The preacher was selected from the group, usually the small community. He was chosen by lot or elected to serve for life.
2. The audience knew each other because they lived, worked, and worshipped together, and before them their fathers and grandfathers.
3. The speech or message was based on Scripture. It varied from (1) a running narrative from Genesis to Revelation, or (2) a verse by verse exposition of a particular chapter, to (3) an occasional address for the celebration of Easter, or Christmas. In all of these, exhortation to practical Christian living may be found.
4. The founders of the Anabaptist movement were trained men whose background in theology and argument prepared them to defend their views in the highest state courts.
5. As a result of persecutions, congregations scattered and selected new leaders when former leaders suffered a martyr's death. The greatest qualification of the preacher was that he must be a member of the body of believers.
6. Beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing into the nineteenth century some written sermons were published and sold in Europe and America. In certain areas, these together with prayer books were used instead of extemporaneous sermons and prayers.

28. C. Henry Smith, *The Education of a Mennonite Country Boy*, pp. 88, 89. Mimeographed limited edition. Cf. John Umble, *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools*, pp. 19-20.

29. C. Henry Smith, *The Education of a Mennonite Country Boy*, p. 89.

7. The order of service was characterized by routine and simplicity.
8. The particular function of the preacher has been understood to be that of spokesman to the congregation rather than a counseling pastor with the individual member.
9. The personal life of the minister and his pulpit attitude demonstrated his dependence upon the leading of the Holy Spirit. Sermon preparation was not considered to be important until it was pointed out that the Spirit could lead also during the preparation.
10. This study suggests that after further preliminary investigation large numbers of studies might be carried on dealing with specific periods, specific issues or doctrines, specific preachers or groups of preachers. The information found or the conclusions reached might apply toward (1) a fuller view of Mennonite History, or (2) a forward looking theory of Mennonite rhetoric and homiletics.

THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY IN THE MENNONITE CHURCH

John C. Wenger

In his *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829-1929*, Harry F. Weber says of the Mennonites,¹

"Another important principle has been that of insistence upon simplicity of life, avoidance of vanity and pride, luxury and display. This simplicity is viewed as a characteristic of the whole Christian life. It manifests itself not only in the mode of living and clothing but also in such points as avoidance of titles and rank and the maintenance of the simple democracy of Christian brotherhood.

It will be the purpose of this present paper to examine briefly the history of non-conformity in the Mennonite Church, particularly as relates to attire; and in America practically all the bodies of Mennonites will be overlooked except the (Old) Mennonites. Limited time for research and the necessity of doing research on the history of Mennonite attire for another occasion have made these undesirable limitations necessary.

First of all let us remind ourselves of the conditions religiously in the two cradles of the Mennonite Church, Switzerland and Holland in the 1520's and 30's. Both countries were Catholic early in January, 1525, but parts of Switzerland became Reformed very shortly. Conrad Grebel inaugurated believers' baptism for the Swiss Brethren while Zwingli and his followers were still observing the Catholic mass. Immediately the Catholic, and very shortly the Reformed, state churches attempted to crush out the young movement by main force. Martyrdoms of Mennonites began in 1525 and continued until 1614 while imprisonment and severe abuse continued another hundred years. Less than a century and a half ago the Swiss canton of Berne was still not granting full religious toleration to the Mennonites.

Coupled with this ungodly persecution of the Lord's harmless sheep went a loose life on the part of large numbers of the state churchmen, laity and clergy alike. Piety was at a low ebb in the Roman Church in the sixteenth century.

The divergences doctrinally of Dutch Anabaptism from Roman Catholicism were set forth by a Franciscan monk, Friar Cornelis,

1. Harry F. Weber: *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829-1929*, Goshen, Indiana, 1931, 60.

in a dispute with a Mennonite laymen named Herman Vleckwijk on May 10, 1569. Said Friar berated poor Herman as follows:²

"Fie, alas! I already hear by this answer that I shall win no laurels in the way of converting you. But in good faith, do you people think it enough, only to believe in Jesus Christ? Ah, bah, all the devils of hell believe in Jesus Christ; bah, see here now, what we are tormented with. Bah, you ought to, and must also, on pain of the damnation of your soul, believe in all the other articles of the Christian faith, and the excellent, holy institutions of our mother the holy Roman Church, which by our holy fathers, the popes, have in all general holy councils, been ordained and decreed to be believed and observed. But you Anabaptists neither believe nor observe anything of them, except it be very plainly stated in the holy Scriptures; for if there are any matters contained in the Scriptures, that seem somewhat obscure to you, you will by no means believe them; as for instance, all that is contained in the holy Scriptures concerning prayer for the refreshing and deliverance of the souls in purgatory; nor all that is said in them respecting the seven sacraments; nor all that they say concerning priestly authority; nor all that is found in them regarding the transubstantiation, or change, of the bread and wine into the real flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, in the Sacrament of the altar; nor all that they contain concerning the perpetual virginity and purity of Mary, the blessed Mother of God. No, these and very many other holy articles you will not believe; yes, what is still more abominable, the worthy blessed Mother of God, whom you ought and are in duty bound to honor, serve, invoke and entreat, that she would intercede for you with her dear Son, her you Anabaptists do not esteem better than your filthy . . . sinful wives. And in like manner you despise and reject all the holy saints and saintesses whom you ought to honor, fast to them, celebrate, invoke and entreat, that they would stand as advocates or mediators between God and you, and intercede for you; bah! is this not a fine thing? Bah, you are silent: answer me, why you heretics bear such enmity and hatred to the worthy, blessed Mother of God, and to all God's saints; let us hear now.

The Mennonite and the friar never did come to an understanding and on June 10, 1569 the former was burned to ashes for his constancy of faith.

More than a century later a Swiss Reformed clergyman wrote the following description of the Swiss Brethren:³

"They are reputed to be true Christians, but observe strictly those practices which are peculiar to the Anabaptists, and which distinguish them from us as follows—they do not attend our church because of the presence of so many sinners among us; do not observe the Lord's Supper with us; they establish their own churches; they do not baptize their children; do not take an oath, nor go to law; they do not go to war; nor occupy positions of honor nor hold civil

2. T. J. Van Braght: *The Bloody Theater of Martyrs Mirror*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1938, 785f.

3. C. Henry Smith, Ph.D.: *The Story of the Mennonites*, Berne, Indiana (1941), 135.

office; they wear simple clothes, do not wear a collar about the neck, nor adorn themselves with lace and ruffles or anything that might savor of pride or extravagance; they speak slowly, and sing in a low, soft voice, and constantly keep their eyes fixed on the ground; they have little to do with those of high station, and avoid the clergymen; they seldom visit the taverns, and do not attend baptismal or marriage feasts; they do not often attend markets, and do little trading and buying; they are willing to suffer persecution; they are industrious and appear among the people as living a simple, pure and honest life.

In reading our great Anabaptist classic, the *Martyrs' Mirror*, one gets the impression clearly and emphatically that the non-conformity of our forefathers was ethical in character and theological in foundation. For example a Dutch Mennonite woman martyr wrote a letter to her children before her death in which she warned them against what she called "the pleasures of the world . . . namely, lying and cheating, gambling, playing (cards), swearing, cursing, backbiting, hatred, envy, drunkenness, banqueting, excess, idolatry, covetousness, lasciviousness, vanity, filthy conversation, dancing, and so forth; which things, though the world does not consider them sins, but amusements, are nevertheless abominations in the eyes of the Lord."⁴

Valerius Schoolmaster, a sixteenth century Mennonite, who was martyred in 1568, wrote a book entitled, *The Proof of Faith*, in which he laments the low state of professing Christendom, apparently thinking especially of the Catholics. He says⁵ that they

openly and shamelessly forsake Christ, in idolatry with wood and stone, which they call an excellent worship; in avarice which they style only industry; in pride, which with them is only neatness; in lasciviousness and adultery, which they term only friendship; in drunkenness, which they call enjoyment, pleasure, glee, good naturedness, or good cheer, even as they know how to name and varnish over every form of wickedness and sin . . .

Another Dutch Mennonite, Jan Wouters, a martyr of 1572, wrote to his daughter telling her how to recognize the true Christians from the non-Christians. Of the latter he writes:⁶

And when you then see pomp, boasting, dancing, lying, cheating, cursing, swearing, quarreling, fighting, and other wickedness, such as drinking to intoxication, kneeling down before wood, stone, gold, silver, or bread, think then: "This is not the right way, these are not the words of Christians . . ."

Of the true Christians Wouters writes:⁷

4. Van Braght: *op. cit.*, 648.

5. *Ibid.*, 728.

6. *Ibid.*, 914.

7. *Ibid.*, 915.

You will also truly find the little flock who follow Christ. And this is the sign: they lead a penitent life; they avoid that which is evil, and delight in doing what is good; they hunger and thirst after righteousness: they are not conformed to the world; they crucify their sinful flesh more and more every day, to die unto sin, which wars in their members; they strive and seek after that which is honest and of good report; they do evil to no one; they pray for their enemies; they do not resist their enemies; their words are yea that is yea, and nay that is nay, their word is their seal; they are sorry that they do not constantly live more holily, for which reason they often sigh and weep . . . (The true Christians are) also these, namely, who bear the cross of Christ . . . Join these crossbearers, that you may come to Christ who bore the cross for us.

Let us now turn our attention more particularly to the matter of non-conformity in attire in the two original homes of Anabaptism: Switzerland (1525) and Holland (1534), after which we will come over to America. First of all however a word must be said regarding the real essence of Christian non-conformity. This essence is nothing other than a regenerated heart, filled with holiness and love for God. This was well set forth by a Dutch Mennonite bishop of Hoorn, Holland, Peter Jans Twisck, 1565-1636, who was married, it may be noted, to the grand-daughter of Menno Simons.⁸ In speaking of good works, Twisck wrote about A.D. 1600 in his famous Confession of XXXIII Articles:⁹

These good works must not be performed through any outward appearance of holiness to please mortal men; nor must we follow herein the hypocrites and selfrighteous Pharisees, and others, whose works mainly consist in (things of) their own choice, and self-invented commandments, which according to the Scriptures, is only a vain and unavailing worship; but we must work out from our faith such divine virtues as are taught, and required of us in the holy Scriptures, and in which we have the example of Christ and His apostles, whose footsteps we are so highly commanded to follow; and all this we must do from the heart, to the honor of Him who created us; thus learning from Christ to be meek and lowly in heart, and thereby to put off all pride, which latter is the beginning of all destruction, and proceeds from man's sinful heart and manifests itself outwardly in the adorning of and display in dress, (in the style of) living, and in words and works; and on the contrary, to adorn ourselves *inwardly* with an humbled spirit, which does not think much of itself, but in lowliness esteems his neighbor better than himself; and *outwardly* in our conversation after our lowly Head and Example, Christ Jesus.

Let us now take a brief look at the Swiss Brethren. While Conrad Grebel and some of his colleagues were well-educated and came from the upper classes, as a general rule the Swiss Brethren

8. John Horsch: *Mennonites in Europe*. Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1942, 243.
9. *Martyr's Mirror*, 400.

were of the lower classes economically. As such they wore the simple clothing which the peasants wore. As Christians with a deep sense of estrangement from the "world" they objected to the display in clothing, made by the rich. They insisted on simplicity but not on a garb or a uniform cut of clothing. The contemporary Swiss Chronicler, Johannes Kessler, 1502-74, in describing the Swiss Brethren of 1525 wrote¹⁰:

Their daily walk and deportment appears to be pious, holy and blameless. They shun costly clothing, despise expensive food and drink, clothe themselves with coarse cloth, (and) cover their heads with broad felt hats. Their entire manner of life is completely humble. They bear no weapon, neither sword nor dagger, but only a short bread-knife, saying that such weapons (as swords) are wolves' clothing which the sheep should not wear. They do not swear, yea, not even a governmental, civil oath of allegiance . . . They insist even more vigorously than the papists on righteous works.

In the year 1531 Sebastian Franck wrote that some of the Anabaptists made regulations on clothing. In commenting on this the late John Horsch remarked:¹¹

With obvious exaggeration Franck said that they had a ruling "how many pleats the apron must have, etc."

Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich, wrote¹² in 1531 that the Swiss Brethren insisted on modest apparel and condemned outward adornment. In another book, written in 1561, he wrote,¹³

They led their lives under a semblance of a quiet spiritual conduct, and reproved sharply covetousness, pride, profanity, the frivolous talking and inordinate life of the world.

In another place Bullinger said¹⁴ that they had regulations in regard to attire, and that "they rejected all wearing of costly clothing and ornaments."

In the year 1544 a person visited an Anabaptist in a prison near Innsbruck in the Tyrol, and tried to lead him away from his faith. The thing that is of interest to us is that the false person was said to have been "clothed like a brother."¹⁵

At the notable Swiss Brethren Conference of 1568, held in Strasbourg in Alsace, regulations 20 and 21 read:¹⁶

10. *Sabbata*, St. Gallen, 1902, 1471.

11. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VII, 2, (April 1933), 125.

12. Horsch: *Mennonites in Europe*, 367.

13. *Ibid.*, 367.

14. *Ibid.*, 367.

15. Van Braght: *op. cit.*, 466. This is the wording of the original Dutch

edition of 1660.

16. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, I, 1 (January, 1927) 65.

Tailors and seamstresses shall hold to the plain and simple style and shall make nothing at all for pride's sake. Brethren and sisters shall stay by the present form of our regulation concerning apparel and make nothing for pride's sake.

A Roman Catholic theologian, Franz Agricola, wrote in 1582:¹⁷

Among the existing heretical sects there is none which in appearance leads a more modest, better or more pious life than the Anabaptists. As concerns their outward public life they are irreproachable. No lying, deception, swearing, strife, harsh language, no intemperate eating and drinking, no outward personal display is found or discernible among them, but humility, patience, uprightness, meekness, honesty, temperance, straightforwardness in such a measure that one would suppose that they have the Holy Spirit of God.

About the year 1600 there were a number of cases of South German Anabaptists being recognized by their clothing.¹⁸ Of only one or two Swiss Brethren leaders is a description given, and even then the description of the clothing is inadequate or is missing altogether. Bishop Hans Landis, who was beheaded at Zurich in 1614, was described by a Zurich clergyman who was present, as "a tall, stately person, with a long black and gray beard, and a manful voice."¹⁹

Taking all the available evidence into consideration, it appears that the Swiss Brethren were very early recognizable by their clothing.²⁰ This effect was perhaps produced by eliminating certain articles of apparel which they regarded as being worn for pride. Their lack of weapons also made them easily identifiable. This is well illustrated by an incident²¹ which occurred in South Germany in 1584. Two strangers entered a certain community, carrying staffs (rather than weapons), and vigorously urged certain citizens of the community to renounce this evil world and follow them. It was thought that they were undoubtedly Anabaptists.

The practice of the Mennonites of the Netherlands was similar to that of the Swiss Mennonites, only they seem to have been more slow in adopting a recognizable costume. They, like their Swiss Brethren fellow-believers, wore the simple clothing of the lower classes, avoiding the ostentation of the rich. Menno Simons wrote²² that Christ's kingdom is not one "in which a display is made of gold, silver, pearls, silk, velvet and costly finery, as is done by the

17. Horsch: *op. cit.*, 295f.

18. G. Bossert: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer*. I. Band, Herzogtum Wuerttemberg, Leipzig, 1930, 691, 741, 806, 881.

19. Van Braght: *op. cit.*, 1104

20. Horsch: *op. cit.*, 368.

21. Bossert: *op. cit.*, 592.

22. *Works*, I. 95f.

proud wicked world. . ." He also made the following protest:²³

They say they believe, and yet there are no limits nor bounds to their accursed wantonness, foolish pomp, show of silks, velvet, costly clothes, gold rings, chains, silver belts, pins, buttons, curiously adorned shirts, handkerchiefs, collars, veils, aprons, velvet shoes, slippers and such like foolish finery; never regarding that the enlightened apostles, Peter and Paul, have in plain and express words forbidden this to all Christian women. If this is forbidden to women how much more then should men abstain from it, who are the leaders and heads of their women. Notwithstanding all this they still want to be called the Christian Church.

The various sixteenth century divisions among the Dutch Mennonites, the first of which came in 1567, seem to have been largely over the practice of shunning, rather than dress regulations. How then were the Dutch Mennonites apprehended, if they were not recognizable at sight like the Swiss Brethren? In a number of cases the accounts in the *Martyrs' Mirror* plainly answer this question. In 1560 a brother was discovered through the answers he gave and also through his having a New Testament with him.²⁵ Having a Testament gave away another Dutch Mennonite in 1569.²⁶ Obvious fear, when speaking with officers occasioned the discovery of two other Dutch Mennonites in 1570.²⁷ Another was discovered in 1570 when he gave thanks before eating in an inn.²⁸ Three more were caught when they gave thanks after eating in an inn in 1585.²⁹ In 1565 a minister and part of his flock were seized by surprise. The authorities could not tell which one of them was the preacher so he voluntarily confessed himself to be the minister.³⁰ This indicates of course that he wore no recognizable clerical garb. Further, in 1574 a Mennonite rebuked a priest for wearing Pharisees' clothing, which, said the Mennonite, are "contrary to the Scripture."³¹ In 1550 a Dutch Mennonite told a fellow martyr at the stake that if he could name twenty fellow believers (ie.) in the surrounding, he would nevertheless do so.³² In 1572 a brother pressed his way through a crowd to encourage a martyr, only to merge again with the crowd before the authorities could seize him. Evidently he wore no distinctive garb. Of eight articles of clothing worn by

23. *Ibid.*, I, 144.

24. Horsch: *op. cit.*, 236

25. Van Braght: *op. cit.*, 641.

26. *Ibid.*, 819.

27. *Ibid.*, 848.

28. *Ibid.*, 841.

29. *Ibid.*, 1061.

30. *Ibid.*, 688.

31. *Ibid.*, 1001.

32. *Ibid.*, 495.

33. *Ibid.*, 898.

Mennonites and mentioned in the *Martyrs' Mirror*, seven of them are such ordinary items as stockings, while the eighth may have been the gown of a professor. As in Switzerland the descriptions of leaders throw little or no additional light on the attire of sixteenth century Dutch Mennonites. Bishop Adam Poastor was described simply as "of medium height and without a beard."³⁴ Bishop Dirck Philips was described as "an old man with white hair, of medium stature, dressed in black, with a round cap."³⁵ Bishop Gillis of Aachen was described as "a man of medium size, with a pale face, big eyes, and a pointed brown beard."³⁶

More than a century and a half after the founding of the Dutch Mennonite Church, a Lutheran theologian wrote of them:³⁷

Although there is need of guarding against the errors of these people, yet as concerns their life, one can learn from them much that is good, namely humility, contentment, sobriety, and especially charity toward the needy . . . Above all, they insist on modesty in respect to clothing, although in Amsterdam there are some who are attracting attention by using periwigs and other indications of worldliness. However, in Friesland and in Groningen one will see them in plain dress, although they also as a class are well-informed and well-to-do.

A description³⁸ of the various Mennonite groups of Holland in 1743 indicates that at that time the more conservative groups had a considerable amount of clothing regulation. The cut of coat of the men and the style of the women's dresses were alike prescribed. The strictest groups opposed buttons, and wore shoestrings in place of buckles. The men were expected to wear beards. The Swiss refugees in Holland at that time also were adhering to beards, hooks-and-eyes and shoe-strings. It is not known when the Dutch Mennonites began to have a prescribed cut of clothing, but it is at least clear that the conservative groups had it two centuries ago.

Turning now to North America we find the early history of non-conformity hard to reconstruct. Let us look first at the eastern Pennsylvania Mennonites. Martin G. Weaver's history of the Lancaster Mennonites³⁹ contains the following description of the 1710 Mennonite immigrants to Pequea, taken by C. K. Martin from an unnamed source:

34. Smith: *op. cit.*, 251.

35. *Ibid.*, 113.

36. *Ibid.*, 112.

37. Horsch: *op. cit.*, 251.

38. Smith: *op. cit.*, 220-224.

39. *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1931, 10.

The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. The dress of both female and male was domestic, quite plain, and of coarse material, after an old fashion of their own.

In the year 1770 Morgan Edwards wrote⁴⁰ that the Mennonites dressed very plainly. He claimed that some brethren had been expelled from Mennonite congregations for wearing buckle-shoes and outside coat pockets. This does not agree very well with the mild tone in the letter which three Franconia Conference bishops wrote to their brethren in Holland in 1773. Following is an extract from their letter:⁴¹

With regard to our confession of faith, our forefathers have taken the articles adopted on the 21st of April, 1632, at Dordrecht in Holland, and outside of these we have held to no human regulations but have taught simply those of the Holy Scriptures and what may further God's honor and man's happiness.

Concerning the Amish they added⁴² that they "hold very fast to the outward and ancient institutions," apparently referring to clothing, and thus contrasting their own mild discipline with the more rigid regulation of the Amish.

So far as is known, the Pennsylvania Mennonite brother of one hundred fifty years ago, when dressed in his best, wore a black hat, rather long hair, a neckcloth (the Hals-Tuck), a plain-collared frock coat and knee-breeches. He probably differed from the non-Mennonite of that era mainly in eliminating such items as lace collars and in rejecting new styles like outside coat-pockets. He was certainly plainly dressed and non-conformed. But he did not, it would seem, have a special cut of coat to differentiate him from other people. The Mennonite women of a century and a half ago wore a plain form of headgear, we may be sure, but we do not know for certain what it was, quite certainly not a bonnet. It may have been a plain hood or a flat hat.

A common American fashionable headgear in the eighteenth century was a broad-brimmed flat hat tied down under the chin causing a dip in the brim. Perhaps it was about a hundred years ago, that the Amish of Somerset County, Pennsylvania, were still wearing the old flat hat with a cloth tied over it, and under the chin, to keep it on the head.) By making the dip down, on each

40. *Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*, 1770, 95.

41. J. C. Wenger: *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference*, Telford, Pennsylvania, 1937, 399.

42. *Ibid.*, 399.

side of the head, complete with permanent strings, and adding a soft crown, the evolution of the fashionable bonnet was complete. The bonnet appeared in England about 1700. (Incidentally, an English Quaker Quarterly Meeting decided in 1703 that it might be lawful to wear bonnets, but it was not expedient.⁴³) A Quaker woman preacher, Martha Routh, introduced the "plain" bonnet to American Friends in 1798.⁴⁴ It is evident that in the course of time Mennonites adopted the plain Quaker bonnet.

Speaking of the Franconia Mennonites in the eighteenth century, the late John D. Souder wrote in 1929:⁴⁵

There were other questions that the Church had to deal with also. The dress question by this time received some attention. The church having been founded so close to Philadelphia, and members coming in contact with the city fashions there, and the disturbance of war coming on, at a conference it was decided best for the church to adopt the plain Quaker apparel. There is, however, reason to believe that the early church before this time dressed plainly and modestly, abstaining from vain show in all things.

The source of these assertions is not given. The writer may have relied on a tradition, reliable or otherwise, or he may have been making a conjecture. In any case, the Pennsylvania Mennonites did adopt the bonnet, which had originated as a new style a century or more before.

About the year 1800 the Pennsylvania Mennonite men must have adopted long trousers, a new style in the latter eighteenth century. It is claimed, however, that a Franconia Conference minister who died in 1834 always clung to the old knee-breeches.

The earlier coat was a long coat, with long divided tails. Later the coat-tail shortened and the collar turned down to produce the modern sack-coat with lay-down collar. In some communities almost all the laity did this, while in others the older forms were adhered to somewhat more.

Prior to the ordinary long coats which most Mennonite women now wear, it was customary to wear the older form, a large shawl. Shawls were first worn in America in 1784. Prior to 1784 women wore large cloaks, often hooded. Women also wore a small shoulder shawl years ago which developed into the well-known cape of certain sections of the church. In the period from about 1882 to

43. Robert Barclay: *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, Londn, 1879, 491n.

44. For the History and background of Quaker dress see Amelia Gummere: *The Quaker, A Study in Costume*, Philadelphia 1901, *passim*.

45. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, III, 1 (January, 1929), 41.

1912 hats were worn by many women in one area of the Franconia Conference.

Summing up the changes in the last century and a half among the Pennsylvania Mennonites and their descendents in other states, the following changes are to be noted among the men: shorter hair today; smaller ties now than the old neck-cloth; modern sack-coats in place of the old frock coats (except on the ministry); and long trousers rather than knee-breeches. The women have much smaller bonnets than formerly; they wear ordinary dresses (with or without capes) which are shorter and vastly smaller, and which have no aprons.

In Canada the evolution of the bonnet was a bit different from that in the United States, the Canadian Mennonite bonnet apparently being influenced somewhat by the so-called Queen Victoria hat. Only since the first World War have the United States bonnets displaced the older Canadian form of headgear.

One issue which arose about 1890 was the wearing of ties. Certain brethren, perhaps through the influence of "Holiness" teachers, began to advocate the discarding of neckties, which until then had been worn by the Mennonites ministry and laity alike. To this new teaching the editor of the *Herald of Truth* objected. Part of an 1891 article entitled "Necktie Religion," and apparently from John F. Funk's own pen, read as follows:⁴⁶

We read of some people who got greatly blessed of the Lord by taking off their neckties. We can readily see the origin of the necktie consecration. Some dude whose diminutive soul was wrapped up in his necktie must of course give up his idol in coming to God. Then he takes out a patent on the leadings incidental to his peculiar infirmities and starts out with his patent gospel. He makes an issue upon his necktie, gets up a fight, and when the party surrenders that point he is in harmony with the spirit of the leader and is endorsed as saved and feels greatly blessed.

The Alsatian Amish which settled in the Midwestern states in the past century were strongly non-conformed to the world, but they did not have the same points of emphasis as the Pennsylvania Mennonites. The typical Amish Mennonite of nineteenth century immigration wore a beard, hook-and-eyes, and usually no necktie. But his coat, whether he was ordained or not, had a lay-down collar. His wife eventually wore a bonnet and a shawl, but no cape. During the last thirty years the bonnet largely disappeared in some

46. *Herald of Truth*, August 1, 1891, 231.

communities. The beards and hook-and-eyes are also gone, while the necktie has been generally adopted by the laity in many communities. The ministry of the united conferences (formed 1916-28 by merging almost all the Mennonites and Amish Mennonites west of Pennsylvania) now all wear the *regulation* coat.

The following summarizes the conclusions reached in the research to date:

1. From the very beginning the European Mennonites had simplicity and non-conformity, but had no garb at first.
2. The Swiss Brethren at an early date were sufficiently non-conformed to be recognizable at sight.
3. The Dutch Mennonites of the eighteenth century had definite dress regulations and prescribed forms.
4. The Mennonite Church historically has tried to maintain a witness against the current fads and fineries in clothing.
5. The church has generally felt free to adopt gradually the newer forms of attire after they have become conventional. The retention of the bonnet is something of an exception to this rule.
6. The forms of attire, even when once adopted by the church, have not remained totally static but have been modified gradually through the years.
7. Historically the church stood for the right to regulate the lives of its members including various areas not just dress.
8. Such conservative groups as the (Old) Mennonites still believe in church regulation in proscribing jewelry, in the women being veiled for worship, in women wearing long hair, etc.

It is hoped that this paper may serve to stimulate interest in this area of research, and that the ensuing work may be of practical value to the various bodies of Mennonites.

DIFFICULTIES IN APPLYING NON-CONFORMITY IN MODERN LIFE

Emil J. Waltner

The first thought that comes to me is, What do we mean by "modern life"? Today as we are in the midst of a second World War, we hear much of fighting a war to preserve the "American Way of Life." And again the question comes to me, "What is the American Way of Life"? Is it the pattern of life Hollywood sets for us, as it is lived there, and as it is portrayed for us on the screen? Is it the sensational that is reflected for us in our daily papers, the stories of crime and murder? Of hasty marriages and still more hasty divorces? I pick up a daily paper, it happens to be *The Kansas City Times*,¹ and I see a column with the heading "Marriage Licenses." It gives the names and ages of the parties to whom marriage licenses were issued on a particular day in Kansas City and Wyandotte County. I count them and there are exactly twenty-eight couples. Right beside this column is another with the heading "Divorce Suits, Granted and Filed" in Kansas City on the same day. It gives the names of the parties who have filed suit for divorce. I also count the list of names and find it to be exactly thirty-one. Twenty-eight marriages and thirty-one suits of divorce; I am wondering if this is the "American Way of Life." It would seem that we already have trial marriages or free love as once advocated by communistic Russia.

A recent issue of *Reader's Digest*² gives an interesting story of two St. Louis police officers. It runs something like this: "Well, the other night, three o'clock in the morning it was—two policemen found a kid eight years old, begging in a downtown tavern. They phoned the kid's father, he said 'Oh I can't come down town now, I'll be down before noon, hold him, will you?' Then they phoned the kid's mother, who was living apart from the father. She was sore as a boil. 'Why should I take care of the kid?' she demanded, 'His father's responsible!' and she slammed down the phone. Think of that—a kid eight years old—in a tough joint—and neither parent interested." I am wondering, is this a sample of the "American Way of Life"?

1. *Kansas City Times*—March 15, 1944.

2. Webb Waldron in *Reader's Digest* February 1944 p. 65.

Then there is the problem of strikes and race riots. In the short period of two and a half years the War Labor Board has adjudicated more than 9,000 disputes, involving more than 7,000,000 workers. And the race question is terribly with us. It takes only a spark and the conflagration is started.

Another problem for difficulty of non-conformity is the liquor problem. On a Saturday afternoon at the liquor counter in a large city drug store one can see women buying liquor by the bottle, laying in their supply for a Saturday night celebration. The saloon, we were told must never come back, but instead we have something that is a whole lot worse than the saloon. We have the cock-tail lounge and the liquor joints with women added to make it a popular place for young girls. Time and again I see men in uniform on trains so thoroughly under the influence of liquor, that they are unable to walk when they reach their destination. I am wondering what kind of a postwar world these men are fighting for. It almost seems that the liquor interests are in cahoots with the enemy. In World War I, Lloyd George said, "We are fighting Germany and Austria and the liquor interests, and it is hard to say which of the two is the greater enemy."

One of my greatest difficulties to conform to modern standards is the ever present cigarette habit that I constantly meet. From the time I leave home until I get back again I have to face it and "like" it. On the train before me sits a young mother, with an infant in her arms, and puffs away at her cigarette. She has very ruby lips, her fingernails are painted dark red and trimmed to point. In another seat sits a mother with three small boys. She, too, puffs away at her cigarette. What a picture, what an inspiration these young mothers would be for a painter of modern madonnas.

I go to my breakfast in a cafe and often I find a woman at the lunch counter to the right of me and one to the left of me, puffing lazily over their coffee cups, and fumigating my breakfast, and I have difficulties to conform to the standards of modern life.

The pioneer way of our parents and grandparents was different from the modern way of life, and as most of our parents and grandparents spent their lives quietly in rural communities, they did not have any great difficulties to conform to the standards of modern life. I am not at all surprised that our Amish Brethren do not want to give up the "Little Red Schoolhouse." It is only human

nature that we do not want to be different. Our difficulties begin in early childhood. In manners and dress and customs we all want to be alike. The little girl in the grades, in high school and college wants to be in "style." When our boys and girls reach high school and college they often find some practices to which a good Mennonite can not conscientiously subscribe, such practices as hazing or initiating, practices in fraternity houses, dances, and the liquor flask.

Just one example will suffice to show to what nefarious practices some of these fraternities will go to initiate new students:³ Some years ago at Kenyon, Ohio, a young man by the name of Stuart Pierson enrolled at Gambier College. A college fraternity, known as the Delta Kappa Epsilon, was one of the fraternal societies of that college. When young Pierson came to college, the first thing to be attended to was to initiate him into the mysteries of this fraternity. It seems that the initiation services consist of all sorts of atrocities invented for the occasion. With the consent of his father the young man was taken to a railroad bridge and tied to the tracks. Of course, these young college friends did not intend to leave the boy to be crushed by the regular train which was due some two hours later. They intended to go and release him from the train. But it appears that an extra train was scheduled for that fateful night, and there the boy lay, tied to the tracks, unable to help himself, and was cut to shreds by the shrieking express train under full speed.

Each one of the boys who took part in this horrible tragedy was under solemn oath never to reveal anything that happened in their society. This was the oath that these boys had taken: "I swear by all hopes on earth to keep this pledge with my brethren of our order. May my life be accursed, my death be loathsome, my heart be cut out and cast into the dust, my flesh rot from the bones, my bones crumble away—if I ever reveal any of the secrets of our beloved order, or betray my brethren."

In our Land Grant Colleges, which include such institutions as our state agricultural colleges and state universities, military training is required during the first two years of the college course. If your son or daughter wants to attend the agricultural college or state university, they will have difficulty if they want to practice non-conformity to the requirements of the military training. Oh,

there is some provision for exemption, but where is the boy or girl who wants to be "yellow" in a group of freshmen. Right here is where some of our boys found that they could not conscientiously ask for Civilian Public Service after they had two years of military training in the state colleges and universities. ROTC units, snappy uniforms, smart looking girl cadets and colonels are all very enticing, and young men fall for the glamour of the uniform and military drill and martial music, but LeGallienne wrote very fittingly on the illusions of war:

"War I do abhor; And yet how sweet the sound along the marching street of drum or fife, and I forget broken old mothers, and the whole dark butchering without a soul
Without a soul—save this bright treat of heady music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace-abiding feet go marching with the marching street,
For yonder goes the fife, and what care I for human life!
The tears fill my astonished eyes, and my full heart is like to break,
And yet as it embannered lies, a dream those drummers make.

"Oh! it is wickedness to clothe yon hideous, grinning thing that stalks
Hidden in music like a queen that in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe;
Art, thou hast many infamies, but not an infamy like this.
O, snap the fife and still the drum,
and show the monster as she is."³

We might well paraphrase Pope's little rhyme on vice and say—

"Militarism" is a monster of so frightful mien
As to be hated needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

In the business world and in politics we often find difficulties to conform to the standards of modern life. We have been told of business men who claim they could not stay in business very long if they would run their business according to the Golden Rule. As a member of the South Dakota State Legislature, I soon learned that a person has to stoop to many unholy practices if he wants to get very far in politics. You may introduce a perfectly good bill to be enacted into a law, but the liquor interests and the gamblers will soon tell you if you want their support you must also support them. Strange to say, a bill to make it lawful for all gambling devices and all kinds of games of chance at county and state fairs,

3. Medical Talk—Volume VII No. 4 pp. 298-299.

was introduced by the son of a former Mennonite minister. During one of the sessions it became my duty to vote on the question of capital punishment. As a Mennonite I could not conscientiously vote to make certain crimes punishable by death, any more than I would take up arms in war.

I have mentioned a few of the difficulties of non-conformity that we meet in modern life. The greatest difficulty, however, that is confronting us today, is the question of post-war military training. Everything points definitely in the direction that America is coming out of this war a strongly militarized nation and that she is to remain so for many years to come. I feel that as one of the historic peace churches, and opposed to militarism, we are helpless to stem the tide of militarism. All that we can hope and pray and work for is to retain some form of Civilian Public Service. The present war and Selective Service have given us an opportunity such as we have never had before. The fact that only one-third of our drafted men have taken advantage of this opportunity is significant. To me it definitely points to the fact that we are fast losing the principle of our fathers. Perhaps the greatest reason why we are losing the principle of non-resistance is the fact that we are rapidly adopting the modern way of life—educationally, socially, philosophically, and religiously. Statistics show very clearly that it is the boys from the rural communities that have chosen Civilian Public Service, while the boys from our urban centers have taken up military service.

We are facing the problem. What is the solution? Militarism or the way of the Prince of Peace? The uniform, the symbol of militarism in church is a paradox. It has no place in Christianity. Militarism stands for conquest by force. Christianity stands for conquest by love. In Germany it was nothing unusual to see military officers attend Mennonite churches with their sabres rattling at their sides. Today there is no such thing as non-conformity in Germany. Napoleon,⁴ conversing one day with some of his officers, on the Island of St. Helena, about the great men of antiquity said, "Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, and myself, founded great empires; but upon what did the creations of our genius depend? Upon force. Jesus alone founded His empire upon love, and to this very day millions would die for Him."

Rome at one time ruled the entire civilized world. Its strength

4. Giekie—Life of Christ p. 2.

was built upon force—upon militarism. From Palestine to Africa, from Africa to Spain, and from Spain to England, camped the Roman legions. The remains of her military roads can be traced today. Van Loon, in his book *The Story of Mankind* illustrates Ancient Rome with one simple picture—a concrete bridge over the river, beyond the bridge the city, and on the bridge one group of armed soldiers marching east and one group marching west. That was Rome in its heyday of glory. As I see our men in uniform in railroad stations and on trains, some going east and some going west, I am reminded of Van Loon's picture of Rome. What became of Rome and its mighty empire? She decayed from within. Of her the poet Byron said, "There she stands the Niobe of nations, childless and crownless in her voiceless woe, An empty urn within her withered hands, whose holy dust was scattered long ago."⁵

The logic of war and folly of it have been described by literary men. Leo Tolstoy,⁶ the great Russian novelist, describes the logic of war in these words:

The bells will peal, long haired men will dress in golden sacks to pray for successful slaughter, and the old story will begin again, the awful customary acts.

The editors of the daily press will begin virulently to stir men up to hatred and manslaughter in the name of patriotism, happy in the receipt of an increased income. Manufacturers, merchants, contractors for military stores, will hurry joyously about their business, in the hope of double receipts.

All sorts of government officials will buzz about, forseeing a possibility of purloining something more than usual. The military authorities will hurry hither and thither, drawing double pay and ration, and with the expectation of receiving for the slaughter of other men various silly little ornaments, which they so highly prize, as ribbons, crosses, orders, and stars. Idle ladies and gentlemen will make a great fuss, entering their names in advance for the Red Cross Society, and ready to bind up the wounds of those whom their husbands and brothers will mutilate; and they will imagine that in so doing they are performing a most Christian work. And, smothering despair within their souls by songs, licentiousness, and wine, men will trail along, from peaceful labor, from their wives, mothers and children—hundreds of thousands of simple-minded, good natured men with murderous weapons in their hands—anywhere they may be driven. They will march, freeze, hunger, suffer sickness, and die from it, or finally come to some place where they will be slain by thousands, or kill thousands themselves with no reason; men whom they have never seen before, and who neither have done nor could do them any mischief.

And when the number of sick, wounded and killed becomes so great that there are not enough hands left to pick them up, and

5. Lord Byron—Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV.

6. Tolstoy—Elbert Hubbard's Scrap Book, p. 35.

when the air is so infected with the putrefying scent of the "food for powder" that even the authorities find it disagreeable, a truce will be made, the wounded will be picked up anyhow, the sick will be brought in and huddled together in heaps, the killed will be covered with lime, and once more the crowd of deluded men will be led on and on till those who have devised the project, weary of it, till those who thought to find it profitable receive their spoil. And so once more men will be made savage, fierce and brutal, and love will wane in the world, and the Christianizing of mankind, which has already begun, will lapse for scores and for hundreds of years. And so the men who reaped profit from it all will assert since there has been a war there needs must have been one, and that other wars must follow, and they will again prepare future generations for a continuance of slaughter, depraving them from their birth.

And speaking of the foolishness of war, Carlyle in his book, *Sartor Resartus*, (The Tailor Retailored writes as follows:

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my knowledge for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "Natural Enemies" of the French, there are successfully selected, during the French war say thirty able bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them: she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amidst much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red, and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles or say, only to the south of Spain: and fed there till wanted. And now to the same spot in Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition, and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire"! is given and they blow the souls out of one another, and in place of sixty useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. This is war.

Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay in so wide a Universe, there was even unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make those poor blockheads shoot each other. Alas, so it is in Deutschland, and hitherto in all lands.

As I listen to the conversation of our men in uniform, I get the opinion that most of them seem to take war for granted, that there is no other way out, that it is a dirty job and has to be done. It reminds me of the conversation of the Centurion as he talks to his commander, and of Demetrius, the slave, and his master Marcellus, as Lloyd Douglas gives it to us in *The Robe*⁷. "If I

7. Lloyd Douglas—*The Robe*, p. 104.

were you, Paulus," he said sternly, "I shouldn't drink any more at present. You've already had much too much!" "If I were you, retorted Paulus recklessly, "I would take as much of this as I could hold!" He took a couple of uncertain steps toward Marcellus, and faced him with a brazen audacity. "You're going to crucify a man today," he muttered. "Ever see that done?" "No," Marcellus shook his head. "I don't even know how it is done. You'll have to tell me."

Paulus carefully picked his way back to the table where the grotesquely shaped wineskin sat. Refilling the big cup, he handed it, dripping, to his commander, "I'll show you when we get there," he said huskily. "Drink that! All of it! If you don't, you'll wish you had. What we are going to do is not a job for a sober man."

In the evening after the crucifixion the Roman Governor gives a banquet to the legionaires, and we find Marcellus, the commander, still very much under the influence of liquor. His slave, Demetrius, is trying to get him cleaned up for the banquet. The following conversation takes place:⁸ "I'm dirty," he mumbled to himself. "I'm dirty—outside and inside. I'm dirty and ashamed. Understand—Demetrius? I'm dirty and ashamed." "You were only obeying orders, sir," consoled Demetrius. "Were you there?" Marcellus tried to focus his eyes. "Yes, sir, a very sorry affair. What did you think of him?" "Very courageous. It was too bad you had it to do, sir." "I wouldn't do it again," declared Marcellus, truculently—"no matter who ordered it! Were you there when he called on his God to forgive us?"

We have heard that statement: "I wouldn't do it again" from the men who fought in World War I. We have heard it from hundreds of students who pledged themselves never to take up arms. We have heard it from churches in America. Are they keeping their pledge?

The C.P.S. men in our camps are keeping the pledge. We are looking to them to carry this banner to a successful victory.

"War is madness."⁹ Unless a better way is found the world goes down in ruins and reverts to savagery—there can scarcely be an alternative. It is the high prerogative of men in high places, of nations—the self-satisfied and powerful—to find that way. Our young men of the Civilian Public Service make a high-minded and

8. Lloyd Douglas—Ibid, p. 113.

9. J. John Friesen—Outline of Mennonite History, p. 112.

humble attempt to walk that better way—the highway of good will toward man.”

I have pointed out a few of the difficulties of non-conformity we meet in modern life. As to the solution I am not sure whether we can find one that fits all cases. I have cited our adoption of the modern way of life as one of the main causes leading us into difficulty. Let us take another look at some of the causes and results—results of leaving the faith of our fathers and adopting the modern way.

Educationally. Our Amish brethren protested very vigorously when they were to give up the little red schoolhouse in favor of consolidated or centralized schools. As to the higher education, some branches of the Mennonites will have none of it. In this way they hope to avoid the difficulties that come with modern philosophy and modern teaching. Our Hutterian brethren never go beyond the grades in public schools and that usually taught by one of their own members in their own district which usually consists of their own membership. In World War I, and also in the present conflict, Hutterian draftees consistently refused to take up military service or wear the uniform. Not until some of them died from torture and brutality could they be made to wear the uniform. After death they were clothed in the uniform of a soldier and sent home in a coffin. Of them (the Hutterian brethren) the late Senator Norris said, “The Mennonites are the best people on earth; they are much better than you and I. There is a colony of them in my former Judicial District, (I was a judge before I became a Senator) but I have never seen one of them before the bar, or known any of them to be entangled in litigation, though they deal with the outside world as you and I. If everybody were as good as they, there would be no need of courts and prisons.”

The Lutheran and the Catholic are still maintaining their own parochial schools in order to solve the problems arising out of secular education and in order to keep their children grounded in the faith of their respective churches. Financially they have a double burden to carry, to maintain their own schools and also to help support the public schools.

When we come to the age of high school education, the difficulties of non-conformity which we meet there might in some instances be solved by maintaining our own academies and high schools. This is done in some localities, but is not always practical, especially

when boys and girls of high school age have to be sent away from home. Then, too, we have the burden of supporting such academies while at the same time we have to help maintain the high schools of our cities.

When it comes to the choice of a college for our boys and girls, a Mennonite college should have first consideration, and yet even there it is not always true that Mennonite principles are upheld and taught by all faculty members. In some of our leading Mennonite colleges a large number of the sons of the faculty members have taken up military service instead of civilian public service. In one of our Mennonite schools we have at least *one* of the faculty members who openly declared that he is not in sympathy with Mennonite principles of non-resistance. This professor has since resigned.

Religiously. We find that we have ministers in our pulpits who are not in sympathy with all of our Mennonite principles, particularly with our stand of non-conformity to war and militarism. Some of them openly declare that they are not in sympathy with our C.P.S. program. From such leaders our conscientious objectors get very little help and comfort. I have in my files a copy of a sermon of one of our Mennonite pastors on the topic of "Service to our God and to our Country." I also have a copy of a reply to this sermon by one of our men from Civilian Public Service. It is no wonder that there is often confusion in the minds of our young men as to what kind of service to render to our country in times of war. I quote some of the extracts from this sermon.

The text for the discourse was found in Matt. 22:21, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The Lord Jesus spake these words in answer to the Pharisee's question "What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar or not?" There are two distinct services mentioned in Christ's answer—service unto Caesar and service unto God.

I. We consider first the service unto Caesar. Whence came Caesar and the form of government under which the Jews were subjugated in the day of Christ? In Genesis 9:5,6 we find the Magna Charta according to which God instituted human government. Later men organized themselves into kingdoms. Because of our text, we are especially concerned in the kingdom of Israel. Israel lost her independence and became a Roman colony under the rule of Caesar because of her unfaithfulness to God. As Roman subjects they were forced to pay tribute to Caesar. This they resented and wanted Christ to commit Himself as to the legality of paying tribute to Caesar. A similar question is paramount in the minds of Mennonites today. "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar or not?" The answer comes to us in the

words of our test "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Our nation is a privileged nation as was Israel, since it is the only nation in the history of the world which was founded upon Christianity and the Word of God. We have drifted far away from the faith of our fathers and have rejected God even as did Israel.

We must today render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. What are the things that are Caesar's? What is our duty, especially as related to the war in which our country is engaged? What service for us is lawful in relation to this war? We have the opportunity of doing things that do not necessarily involve us in the war itself. But, our country demands of us greater service than that. It demands of us that we not only contribute to Caesar the material things of which we have read, but also to render unto him our own sons and daughters and husbands and wives.

There are according to the provisions made by our country, three types of service which we may take up. There is no question whether or not we must give unto Caesar one of these three types of service. We have the opportunity and privilege in our land to choose which service we desire to render. We shall briefly consider these three services.

First, the Civilian service. This service we have because of the religious freedom which we still possess in our land. It is one of the four things mentioned in the Atlantic Charter. Since our country has made this provision as a special privilege to us, our boys have a perfect right to enlist in Civilian service. As a church, it is our solemn duty to support young men who choose this service. Should we not consider this our tribute to Caesar? Our men who go into Civilian service should, however, remember that it is a special privilege granted unto them by our government. Others must enter into the Military service for us. . .

Next, we consider Non-combatant service. Let me say again, let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind as to Non-combatant service as well. This is the service which has been historically and traditionally the service of the Mennonite Church. We have never had the opportunity of doing Civilian service in any preceding war. Those who choose this type of service cannot, because of conscientious objections, take life, but are willing to serve in the Medical Corps and other types of Non-combatant service as designated by the president.

In the third place, we consider Military service. Our men also have the opportunity to go into Military service. Again I say, let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. This service is non-Mennonite but let it be understood that all human government is based upon force in order to check evil. The simplest and most common force is our police force.

Those men who take up Military service base their conviction on the Old Testament where the Lord Himself commanded the people of Israel to go to war in order to exterminate the Canaanites. They also find in the New Testament that the Lord Jesus Christ upon His return will smite His enemies. (Rev. 19:15) Christ did not demand of the Centurian to forsake Military service. Neither did John the Baptist, nor the Apostle Peter tell their converts that they must give up Military service. . . .

So much for the sermon, now a few quotations from a reply to this sermon.

This question of "Service to Our God and to Our Country", is

one which we in the camps had to face and answer quite some time ago. In making my own decision I did not follow quite the same line of reasoning used in your sermon, and thinking that it might be of interest to you, I would like to share with you my own conclusions and the reasons for them where they seem to differ with those you express.

First, I begin with the assumption that there *can* be a conflict between what my country asks of me and what God has a right to expect of me. In other words there not only can be but sometimes is a question as to whether we will obey God or whether we will obey the "powers that be." How else can we explain why Paul spent so much time in jail? And for what other reason did Peter say, "We must obey God rather than man" when the authorities would put an end to his preaching? Scripture is clear on this point, there are times when to obey Caesar is to disobey God, and in case of doubt, a Christian would hardly go wrong in giving God the benefit of the doubt. It seems to me far too many Christians get this just backwards. They begin with the assumption that the edicts of one's country must always be obeyed and are not subject to question and so they distort God's word in order to make it agree with what the country demands or expects. Much as I love my country and the things for which it stands, the Saviour I learned to know under your ministry, and the things He taught, mean more to me than any nation can. If to act according to what He taught is not according to what my country expects, then I am sorry, but my course is clear, I must follow Christ. If I did otherwise I would not only deny Christ but I would also fail my country, for I am convinced that no greater service can be rendered to your country than that which you render when you are truly obedient to God.

To put my country and my God on an equal basis, to be equally obeyed, is to me rank blasphemy. I know that "the powers that be" are ordained of God and are His ministers. But that includes Hitler. If applied particularly to Nero, who was even worse than Hitler, are these to be obeyed and acknowledged with equal authority with God? If so, why do we fight them? If the rulers of our country are the ministers of God in the sense, that they have final authority over Christians, then so is Hitler, and you have a God fighting God. The only possible interpretation of Romans 13 is that "the powers that be" are always to be obeyed except when obedience to them conflicts with obedience to God . . .

When Jesus said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's," He did not answer the Pharisee's question. He merely gave them the principle for answering the question for themselves. He did not say the tax money belonged to Caesar, nor did He say that it belonged to God. He made no decision for them. I do not see how more than just that can be made from this passage. It in no way defines what it is that belongs to Caesar, neither does it say what belongs to God. We must of course give to Caesar that which is Caesar's, but we must also take care lest we give to Caesar what belongs to God . . .

I like your statement on Civilian Service up to the point where you say, "Our men who go into Civilian Service should, however, remember that it is a special privilege granted unto them by our government. Others must enter into the military service for us." It seems to me you have completely misunderstood our reasons for not taking part in war. War is not something that *has* to be. At best it is a human attempt to right a wrong by fighting it out.

We could not refuse to fight if war *had* to be. We could not refuse to fight if War were *the way* to right a wrong. Jesus said "Love your enemies, do *good* to them that hate you." Paul said, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil *with GOOD*."

The only justification for being in Civilian Service is that we know war does not have to be. We know no one *has* to fight, least of all for us. When we use Christ's way to overcome evil we do not have to have some one else using the way of war to overcome evil for us. Christians did not have to have an army to overcome Nero's empire. What faith is this we have today that needs an army for its protection! Must we adopt the standards of unregenerate rulers because they know no better way to overcome evil than through war? I do not see how we can truly honor Christ and be obedient to His will when we dabble with the way of hate and destruction . . .

To say that this (non-combatant service) has been historically and traditionally the service of the Mennonite Church is not very accurate, for even during the World War more than half of the Mennonites who were drafted chose brutal treatment and imprisonment rather than submit to the compromise of non-combatant service. Some of the things they have endured have been scarcely surpassed even by Nazi Germany in brutality. In all former American wars Mennonites had been given exemptions and with few exceptions had to serve in any capacity. In Canada the history has been very much the same. In Russia the Mennonites had been promised complete exemption before they migrated. By about 1872 the Russian government refused to extend this privilege and demanded at least non-combatant service. But because the Mennonites could see little difference in principle between combatant and non-combatant service, as the purpose of both is the same, they began to migrate to America. It was not until 15,000 had already come to this country that the Russian government became alarmed at the loss of their progressive citizens and permitted an alternative service program very similar to our present CPS system. They did forestry service and operated and financed their own camps. These were continued until the close of the World War.

Economically. For several centuries the Mennonites have lived a simple life in rural communities, but here too we have drifted far from the simple life of our fathers. The simple life of our fathers and how it helped to preserve our tradition is aptly described by J. John Friesen in the following paragraphs:¹⁰

We are speaking of the simple life and are not primarily concerned with the characteristics of smaller groups, but with the Mennonites in general.

They have been predominantly an agricultural people. Those who till the soil find it easier to live simply than do the inhabitants of a city. The land facilitates not only a simpler but a more wholesome life.

The Mennonite people have through centuries chosen the land so very largely, not merely because it offered a living, but a way of

10. J. John Friesen—Ibid, pp. 106-107.

life. The very names of places—some were suggested above—speak of a deep attachment to field and woods and garden. It is the dweller on the land who in the most real sense has a home. The acres he owns furnish his life with experiences, memories, and hopes; they provide a background and stability which is extremely difficult to find in a more mobile life. The tiller of the soil is dependent upon the forces of heaven and earth—the rain, the wind, the sunshine, the fertility of the soil. He literally walks and works with God. It is in the broad silences and the solitudes of the open spaces that man can best lean to the "Still Small Voice." The seclusion and quiet of the farm hold a large advantage for the cultivation of family ties and religious life over the roaring, reeling tempo of the city.

In these days of mass exodus from the country to our population cauldrons it is well to be reminded, whether old or young, of what that nobleman by nature, Cowper, has said: "God made the country, and man made the town.—What wonder then, that health and virtue should most abound, and least be threatened in the fields and groves."

A machine-made mammon-mad civilization assembled to top-heaviness in our congested centers of industry leans unmistakably toward materialism and moral confusion. Essential as manufacture and balance of trade are to the life of the world, it may be that the scent of turf and growing things is yet a truer symbol of the "essential facts of life" than is the smoke of factory. Young people who are born to the heritage of the land should be grateful for it and should not lightly leave the farm. Those employed in office or factory can not retrieve themselves from the noisy clatter and frantic haste of a workaday world by treading with the multitude the primrose path of dalliance, nor by following the light that lures to palaces of frenzied excitement, but by listening to the whisper of the Eternal in the sanctuary of their heart. Plain living and high thinking need reemphasis today as never before. . .

The Mennonite way, in so far as it has been the simple way, has been an attempt of the church, not to be different, but to live what it believed. Those who are born to the way will not lightly depart from it. Theirs must be a loyalty that adheres not merely to simplicity of form but to simplicity of faith, and a faith that is lived, which is a mark of the children of the Most High everywhere.

There is need to know what one believes, and to be able to formulate that belief. This formulation is not wanting in the Mennonite church, but our final resource is not confession, nor profession, it is living what we believe. That man can outgrow the brute and experience the Eternal; that life can be lived in humility; and purity of heart in a baffling world; that Christian conscience cannot sanction manslaughter and the processes of war—which are barbarous and outdated and undignified; that good will toward man is the only highway to peace on earth; this must be the living testimony of the church in a bewildered and chaotic world, that, perchance, may turn its eyes from carnage and darkness to the light of His countenance. It is the simple and pure in heart that shall see God.

In conclusion we might well ask ourselves the question: What lies ahead? We know the past history of the Mennonite Church, its difficulties and how they were met—suffering martyrdom, mi-

grating to another country, by paying commutation fees as in the case of the Civil War and by service in Civilian camps. The experience of our Russian Mennonites in the late Russian Revolution is a tragedy in Mennonite history. I quote once more from Friesen's outline:

Can the Mennonite church, as a part of the American life, keep alive the ideal of perfection, with all it implies and whatever it costs? Will we do our little share to preserve and augment our cultural and spiritual heritage? It is worth the effort!

The world is in confusion today. Tomorrow it may be in ruins. Whether we perish or live in the confusion or ruin, or a coming better day, will depend on how highly we think of our past, how well we can carry on tradition. Across the centuries comes, with insisting emphasis, the Voice: "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."



HELPING MENNONITE YOUTH GET A VOCATIONAL START

By J. Winfield Fretz

It is my plan to discuss this problem in two major phases. First the theoretical and second, the practical aspects of the question. The theoretical aspect will deal with the more profound and important of the two phases. It is more important because on it rests the reason for proceeding with a discussion of the practical aspects.

The Genius of the Mennonite Church

Why should a church group, such as the Mennonites, be interested in solving the big problem of unemployment which faces many young people today? Why is it the business of the church to deal with a problem which seems so distinctly economic and, therefore, seemingly removed from the realm of the church's concern? Why not leave a problem which deals with such matters as occupation to the ingenuity and the industriousness of the individual? Or, why not leave it to employment agencies, or to the political state to see that citizens are provided with sufficient work to earn a living? These are basic questions that serious thinking men and women are constantly asking themselves. Unemployment is indeed a baffling problem that confronts modern society. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently estimated that approximately 10 million more jobs need to be provided after the war than before the war. Four million of those now in the armed service are said never to have had any job prior to entering military service. The proportion of Mennonite young people who will need employment following the war will perhaps be in fairly direct ratio to their percentage of the total population.

How to help these young people get a job so that they can earn a decent living is of vital concern to the Mennonite Church. However, what I wish to point out at the beginning of this paper is that as far as Mennonites are concerned, the most important aspect of the problem is not the economic one of finding a job. Jobs are necessary but they can and will be found. If not found, then made because as long as God Almighty continues to give us rain, sunshine,

soil, and health, by His grace we shall be able to have at least food, clothing, and shelter. The type of job and the income from jobs will vary from time to time, but our people will have jobs. What needs to be presented for consideration in this phase of the paper is the more basic problem of why the Mennonite Church as a church should be concerned with this seemingly secular problem of finding jobs. After discussing this phase of the topic I shall come to the more practical part of suggesting methods by which we may give vocational assistance to Mennonite youth.

Helping our young people get a vocational start is only one aspect of a larger situation that confronts the Mennonite Church. This larger task is that of rediscovering the genius of the Mennonite Church. It is only after Mennonites discover their genius, that the aspect of giving vocational assistance to their young people becomes meaningful. The genius, as nearly as I can discover it, lies in its profound insight into the nature of Christianity and the Christian Church. The Anabaptists' conception of the true church was one of a Christian brotherhood as described in the New Testament and practiced by the early Christians.

This conception is nowhere to be found in actuality among Mennonites today, but what is still more unfortunate is the fact that the very concept of brotherhood as taught by the early Christians and the founders of the Mennonite Church is all but lost. Although it is much talked of, it has not been seriously sought after in recent generations. Yet it is this very ideal that rests at the center of the genius of the Mennonite Church. The reason why Conrad Grebel, George Blaurock, Pilgram Marpeck, Hans Denck, Obbe and Dirck Philips, Menno Simons, and other Anabaptists could not become Lutherans or followers of Zwingli is because these men refused to go all the way in establishing a Christian Church. To the Anabaptists they seemed to be compromising and stopping short of the goal. They refused to take the Sermon on the Mount as applying to Christians in this world but felt it applied only in the world to come. The Anabaptists felt that the so-called reformers were only half reformers and that they held on too much to Roman Catholic doctrines which were often the product of rationalization and clever logic to meet the needs of worldly men.

The Anabaptists' vision, as Harold Bender again convincingly showed in his recent presidential address to the American Church

Historians, was one in which the true Christian Church was a genuine brotherhood composed of adult reborn believers in Jesus Christ. For them the Church was not a drag-net social organization designed to embrace everyone. It was rather a society of the spiritually elect, composed of believers who withdrew from the worldly system and attempted to create a social order from within the fellowship of the church brotherhood. They believed that extension of this Christian order could only be made by the conversion of individuals who transferred out of the world into the Church. To them the sacred rite of baptism had no sacerdotal or sacramental connotation. It was an open acknowledgement of a desire to live pure, blameless, holy lives patterned on the one perfect life of Jesus Christ.

Thus to the early Mennonites it seemed very natural that an adult body of reborn men and women should become a holy community, a Christian brotherhood. In this new community the relationships between one another were understood to be that of brothers and sisters, with God, the Father, present in the person of the Holy Spirit to complete the concept of the Christian family. Is it any wonder then that among some of the early Swiss Brethren one of the conditions of membership was a promise on the part of the candidate to willingly pledge all his property and personal possessions to the brotherhood in case of necessity? It cannot be concluded that because of this pledge the early Anabaptists were religious communists. This test of church membership was merely an expression of Christianity in the "raw," an illustration of what happens when men surrender themselves completely to Christ. It was merely an expression of genuine concern on the part of members in a Christian community one for another. It was an acknowledgement of the fact which we frequently and glibly repeat but which we do not seriously mean, namely, that spiritual values should take precedence over material values or that people's rights take precedence over property rights. It was a way of making real the test as to whether professing Christians truly believed what they said they did.

This central concept of the Christian Church as a brotherhood stood in contrast to the Roman Catholic emphasis on the semi-divine nature of the Church as an institution or the enjoyment of the inner experience of the grace of God through faith in Christ as held by the Lutheran Church. The emphasis of the Mennonites lay on the

transforming power of the love of God in the lives of those who accepted His Son. Following Christ is central in the thought of the Mennonites. The acid test of the Christian is after all his life, not the perfection of the creed which he professes, nor the infallibility of the institution to which he belongs. Believing is important but not sufficient unto itself.

If we today accept the implications of this concept of the Mennonite Church, then it will have a whole train of consequences both in our thinking and in our conduct as a Christian Church in modern society. It brings into question our total relationship to the secular world and to the attitude toward the political state and participation in the life of our society. It will again bring significance to such doctrines as that of separation, non-conformity, simplicity, refusal to swear an oath, insistence on settling disputes outside of secular courts, and most important of all for our consideration at this moment, the doctrine of mutual aid which means that members in the Christian fellowship accept responsibility for each other's economic needs. Recognition of this basic concept is the beginning of the preservation of the Mennonite Church. A repudiation of this concept is a push in the opposite direction and a signing of the Church's death warrant by means of the processes of secularization and slow cultural strangulation.

Rediscovering Basic Doctrines

A further assumption that underlies the giving of vocational assistance to Mennonite young men is the need of again discovering the doctrines of Christian separation, non-conformity, and simplicity. Unfortunately, the deeper meaning of these doctrines has been allowed to become obscure and confused in the minds of modern Mennonites. They have been divested of their profound religious significance and have come to be identified almost totally with superficial social custom and individual or group eccentricities. If the practice of genuine mutual aid is to be effective in giving vocational assistance to our young people, Mennonites must recognize the doctrines of separation, non-conformity, and simplicity. They must acknowledge the fact that the Christian Church is composed of those who withdraw from the worldly system and create a Christian social order within the fellowship of the church brotherhood. It must be possible today as it was sixteen or twenty centuries ago for Christians to be in the world but not of the world.

If this doctrine of the Church is not accepted, there is little excuse for starting a program of Mennonite aid to youth. The Church might as well accept all the benefits of the social security program that the modern State offers to its citizens. Failure to see distinction between Church and State in economic matters often leads to a confusion in the thinking of people regarding separation on political and religious grounds. This doctrine of Mennonite aid, therefore, rests soundly on the idea that the Church and the State are separate and that the Christian does not wish to accept economic assistance from the State though he is eligible to receive it.

The doctrine of non-conformity, too, has much more profound significance than merely distinctive external appearances from those about us. If I understand the Biblical teaching correctly, it has primary reference to Christian conduct. Paul admonishes the Corinthians (6:17) to come out from among them and be separate. He expects them to forsake their former worldly moral, ethical, and religious practices. Modern Mennonites have failed to see all too often that the doctrine of non-conformity applies in the economic as well as in the social and the religious realms. We have somehow accepted the often selfish, unscrupulous, and questionable practices of our secular business world with the seeming consciousness of their unchristian ways. Somehow, we have not been called upon to be non-conformists in this realm of our lives and yet the doctrine of non-conformity, if it is to be profoundly significant in religion, means nothing unless it is equally applied to all areas of life. Certainly it dare not be overlooked or neglected in such a large area as that of economics in which we earn our living. Therefore, the doctrine of non-conformity must be rediscovered and taught to our young people as one of the basic Christian doctrines. If we succeed in that we shall help the young people of tomorrow materially in getting an occupational start. Rediscovery of this doctrine will lay the ground work for conceiving of our occupations as divine callings rather than as jobs with the rate of income as the determining factor between good or bad, useful or useless.

Equally necessary is the discovery of the meaning of simplicity. This doctrine too needs to be reinterpreted and to be given respectability. Simplicity in the mind of too large a number in our own church people, much less those who have never professed the doctrine, has come to be identified with niggardliness, ugliness,

and ignorance. Actually, Christian simplicity is the exact opposite. It is beauty, strength, generosity. Essentially, it means that the Christian seeks for himself only as much as he needs for comfortable and happy living, that he guards rigidly against buying, using, or displaying goods merely for pride and show, or for purposes of conspicuous consumption. This means refusal to buy food, clothing, and shelter merely because he wishes to keep pace with the pagan values and practices of the non-Christians around him.

Conspicuous consumption among Mennonites has led to the extravagant practice of buying much excess junk without regard for its practical use. It applies equally to the Mennonite maid with high social aspirations, to the Mennonite farmer who does not want to be out done in the matter of the latest farm machinery, or the Mennonite businessman who seeks to drive the largest and latest chromiumpated 8-cylinder car. All of these individuals represent typical cases who are victims of this terrible disease known as conspicuous consumption. It is a disease destructive of both the doctrine of Christian simplicity and a long gamut of corollary Christian virtues. Christians everywhere need to discover a way of raising the spiritual above the material plains of living. It is of tremendous importance to recapture these basic Christian doctrines as a foundation on which to build a program of occupational aid to our young people.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

If we attempt to do anything practical by way of rendering vocational assistance to young people, doubting Thomases will immediately begin raising questions. They will say, "It sounds good but I don't think it will work." Even though there are those who accept the basic idea that the Mennonite Church is a brotherhood, we cannot assume that all of the same people will agree to the economic implications of this ideal. If we attempt to create a fund and administer a systematic program of assistance we shall be engaging in economic activity, and there are those who will say that this is not the duty of the Church. They will expound the unmennonite view of a dichotomized religion which looks upon religion as something apart from daily life, having nothing to do with the way we do business or earn our living. Many will not make a distinction between the church engaging in an economic enterprise for profit and engaging in it for the purpose of rendering

mutual assistance to members of the brotherhood. Assuming that these obstacles are overcome, the greater problem of actually raising the financial capital still remains and without financial capital realistic assistance is not possible. Those who have money to invest or to save will raise the rightful question as to the safety of investment in such an enterprise within the brotherhood. They will want to know how the proposed interest rate from mutual aid investments compares with interest rates in other places where their capital could be invested. This poses a very interesting question.

If assistance to our young people is to be motivated by the Christian ideal of sharing and service than it will mean that credit will need to be extended at a low rate of interest and for a long period of time. The desire for high returns from investment in young people must be subordinated to the desire to share mutually. Credit at high rates of interest and for short periods of time would be exploiting rather than assisting. The question then remains as to whether our Mennonite brethren who have enjoyed the bountiful dividends from stocks and bonds invested in such securities as Pennsylvania Railroad, United States Steel, the du Pont Corporation, and in at least one case, the Fox Theatre Corporation, would be willing to give them up. Would they be consecrated enough to the doctrine of Christian brotherhood to shift their investments from these secular industrial and sometimes unchristian enterprises, to a Mennonite aid organization to assist our young people?

We face a concrete practical problem at the present time in which we can test this matter. According to a survey of the post-war needs and plans of the C.P.S. men in M.C.C. camps, I discovered that 43 per cent of all the men need financial assistance to get started in the work they want to do. Fifty-one per cent of them said they would welcome financial assistance from the Church if it was available on a loan basis at a low rate of interest and to be paid over a long period of time. The Aid Section of the Mennonite Central Committee has a tentative program of assistance which it proposes to the various Mennonite groups for consideration and adoption. If the Mennonite churches meet this responsibility, there is great hope and encouragement that they will continue to meet the occupational needs of their young people in the years ahead. In brief, the proposal provides for the establishment of a capital fund in which Mennonites with savings can

safely invest them and those needing credit can get it on conditions that are thoroughly Christian and mutually beneficial to borrower and lender.

From such a source of brotherhood credit, young people of recommended character could come to secure a loan to enable them to establish a home, continue their education, buy stock and equipment to start farming, buy a farm, or engage in a business enterprise for which they are suited. Assistance would only be given if the candidate had proper credentials from reliable individuals in his home community or congregation. But such credentials would serve in place of equity and financial security now required. In short, the loans up to a certain amount would be character loans. The use of the funds should be carefully supervised by mature and competent individuals who have had experience in the areas in which the loans are to be used. This type of credit is very essential and yet very difficult to obtain today in secular banking and loaning agencies because the borrower is required to have a relatively large amount of capital or equity before a loan can be made. Character loans are not honored in commercial institutions. It is here that Christian brotherhood should surpass commercial institutions.

It is under such a plan that genuine honesty could be emphasized and the former reputation of a Mennonite's word being as good as his bond redeemed. Wherever credit is being made available on a character loan basis, whether in credit unions operated by neighborhoods or occupational groups in industry or by the Federal Government in the Farm Security Administration, losses are exceedingly low and, I believe, it is correct to say, are actually less than are those in institutions where a high percentage of equity is required. A modest but adequate credit system, therefore, is one essential to the successful assistance of our young people in the field of occupational placement.

It is assumed that Mennonite assistance programs would seek to help our young people in enterprises, such as farming, independent small businesses, and professional services, in all types of occupations that permit a maximum of individual freedom and opportunity for growth in Christian service and that preserve and enrich wholesome family life. Vocational guidance and counseling services and employment agencies should be developed throughout the brotherhood.

By way of practical suggestion as to how either individually, or

in groups, young people might assist themselves or be vocationally assisted, I would like to discuss a number of concrete cases.

Altona, Manitoba, Cooperative Farm. Last summer while visiting Mennonite communities in Canada, I discovered an interesting experiment being conducted by eight Mennonite young men who wanted to farm but didn't have the money. These eight young men had been puzzled about the way they were going to earn a living in their home community. Most of them had attended the short winter course of the Rhineland Agriculture Institute which was operated for two months each winter during the past ten years, under the sponsorship of a group of adult farmers who had organized an agricultural society. Usually twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls attended each winter. One evening while these boys were discussing their problems one of them suggested the possibility of going together as a group and renting a farm and operating it cooperatively. The idea immediately took root. The eight young men studied the proposition for a while and then decided to organize into a little cooperative society. Between them they raised five hundred dollars and rented 140 acres of land. This was in the spring of 1943. One of the eight members started operations in the early spring and when school closed in June three other members joined him in the farm work. The other four members got jobs elsewhere and earned money to contribute to the common enterprise. The first year's crop consisted of 31 acres of potatoes, 35 acres of sunflowers, 10 acres of field peas, 16 acres of soy beans, 10 acres of table beans, 2 acres of raspberries, 3 acres of flax, and 12 acres of barley. Due to wet weather the 35 acres of sunflowers had to be plowed under but the other crops did fairly well. Over 6,000 bushels of potatoes were realized.

In this way capital was raised to plan for another year. The boys had planned to sell their total potato crop immediately after harvest, but changed their mind and decided to build a potato cellar. Accurate records of cost and production are being kept. At the present time the Canadian Selective Service is allowing only two men to remain on the farm. The other men have been drafted or are deferred for other jobs, but the cooperative farm is going on. It is planned that eight residences will be built for each of the cooperating members. Eight lots are staked out and one of the residences is to be built this summer, although none of the members are married—as yet. This year the group bought 35 acres

of choice row crop land and is planning to plant 500 evergreens, 200 elms, 3500 caragana, and 500 boxelder seedlings, a total of 5,000 seedling trees in all. One hundred twenty acres of land is to be put into crops for this coming summer. The men have agreed to cooperate fully and in every detail with all the undertakings of the project and in the owning of machinery. The houses are to be laid out on one-acre lots in a compact cluster for the convenience of a water system and electrification. Each house or lot is the property of one member and cannot be sold to anyone without the consent of the rest of the members. The group plans to erect a centrally located building for common use as a place for recreation and a workshop. A common laundry for the eight families has also been considered.

I was very much impressed with the character of the young men who are undertaking this enterprise. They are sincere, humble, honest, and industrious. Their objectives, they said, were first, to provide means of establishing themselves on farms, second, to experiment in the hope of making this a workable plan for post-war years in other communities; third, to enrich farming as a way of life; fourth, to prepare to meet changing conditions by living and working and planning together as a Christian group of individuals and later families; and fifth, to improve and enrich their local community.

As advantages of this plan, they said that it provided a means of raising capital which individually they would not have been able to raise. Second, it eliminated the present high cost of farm overhead. Third, that it permitted farm improvements because of a pooled labor supply; and fourth, that it offered opportunities for specialization, that is individuals primarily interested in dairying, carpentry work, poultry, etc., could each more easily specialize.

The outcome of this very worthwhile experiment in practical Christian living and working together will be watched with interest. If it succeeds it may help us answer some of the problems raised in this paper.

Mennonites in Mexico. The Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico demonstrate a method of assisting those who need land on which to settle in a way which might be of value to Mennonites in the United States. They, like the Mennonites here, constantly face the problem of securing new land for the expansion of their ever growing population. When new land is needed the colony Ober-

schulz takes the initiative in scouting for and buying land. The procedure is as follows: A list of the names of the people who want new land, either to settle or to buy as an investment, is drawn up. In addition to stating how much land each man wants he must also state the amount of money he has available for the purchase of the land and the additional amount he still needs. He is urged to borrow the money from a friend or relative but if he cannot the colony will assist him. When the size of the plot is decided on, the Oberschulz and his assistants buy the plot of ground. Money that is not available for the purchase from those who want the land is generally supplied by the men with money in the colony on a loan basis. The creditors receive three or four per cent interest and the borrowers pay six per cent. The interested group of settlers and the Oberschulz meet to draw up a plan for the new settlement. Each plot or separate farm is given a number and when the total plan is worked out the interested parties draw for the number of the lot which they are to get. If two individuals wish to exchange their plots they may do so, but they cannot reject their plot outright in favor of another. The plots are all evaluated in advance. There is variation in the quality of the land and hence in the price per acre. Each new village then organizes by electing a Schulz and other officers as needed.

It is not readily possible to buy virgin land in the United States, such as the Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico have been buying, but it is possible for a central organization to take the initiative in securing information as to the number of Mennonite individuals in a given area who want to settle on new land, and also take the necessary steps to acquire land where it is available.

Sudeten Agricultural Settlement. A third illustration which may be of some help in solving the problem of vocational assistance to our young people is that offered by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1939 it was given the task of establishing 152 families and 37 single men as part of a Sudeten refugee group that fled from Hitler's invading army in Czechoslovakia. The British government assumed responsibility for settling these refugees to the extent of providing transportation plus \$1500.00 per family and about \$900.00 per single man for their establishment in agriculture. The funds were originally provided as a loan to the Czecho-Slovakian government. The Canadian Pacific Railway decided to settle these people in the Peace River Block at Tupper, British Columbia. It is of

interest to note that Henry J. Siemens, a Mennonite from Brandon, Manitoba, directed this settlement for two out of four years.

The plan followed by the C.P.R. is as follows: The organization and the supervision of the settlement was conducted by the Canada Colonization Association, a subsidiary of the Department of Colonization and Immigration of the C.P.R. The supervisory staff consisted of a chief supervisor, several assistant supervisors, and an accountant. One hundred dollars per family and \$50.00 per single man was provided for supervisory expenses, a total of \$1700.00. Supervision began March, 1939, and ended January, 1943. The settlers were all urban artisans and laborers. Very few had had any experience in farming. A company was formed during the first year to serve as a purchasing and holding company of all land, stock, and equipment. Bulk purchases by this company were later divided and transferred to individual settlers. The first officers of the holding company were all C.P.R. officials serving without pay. Later these officers were replaced by settlers and the stock transferred equally to all the settlers. The undivided land and equipment remaining at the close of the supervision period became community property under the control of this company which was then the settlers' own organization.

At the beginning a general store was set up to distribute tools, clothing, and groceries. The settlers were encouraged to organize themselves into a cooperative society. A butcher shop was provided and staffed by one of the settlers who later bought the business and operated it as a private enterprise. A new school was built in the center of the settlement during the first summer. The Catholic Church constructed a frame building and sent a resident priest to be in charge. The settlers built their own community hall for social and business gatherings.

Land and Buildings. Before any of the settlers arrived the first block of land which consisted of 16,000 acres and which had formerly been a cattle ranch was purchased. The total was later increased to 23,628 acres. Only 650 acres of the original land was under cultivation. The average cost of the entire area was \$1.71 per acre. The first task of the supervisor was to provide housing accommodations for the families as they arrived. The first group of 30 families came in April and the last group in August, of 1939. In order to avoid the isolation and hardships that usually accompany

pioneering settlers, to provide school and church facilities, and to aid in teaching farm practices, houses were built in groups of 15 to 20. Small one or two-room log houses were constructed. As the settlers proved their farming ability and selected their land the houses were moved on to their respective quarter sections. Barns were constructed for the livestock and tools supplied to carry on the necessary farming operations. Houses cost anywhere from \$67.00 to \$250.00 and barns averaged about \$32.00. During the first year 39 families were moved on to their respective lands, the second year 47 settlers, the third year fifteen. A small saw mill had been purchased and set up in the center of the settlement to saw logs and wood for the buildings.

An active land clearing and breaking program was undertaken as soon as men could be spared from the building program. Groups of fifteen to twenty men with several teams cleared areas of fifty to one hundred fifty acres in a block, regardless of boundaries. About 1,000 acres were broken the first season and eight hundred the second. By the beginning of the third season the majority of the settlers had moved on their own lands. Clearing during the third year was done largely on an individual basis, largely because internal disharmony had made group work impractical. At the end of the four-year supervision program, 3200 acres, or thirty acres per settler, had been cleared.

A significant aspect of this group settlement program is the way livestock and machinery were acquired. The holding company's supervisors insisted on buying only high grade livestock and giving preference to productive animals, such as cows, chickens, and pigs, rather than to horses. Because settlers lived close together they were required to double up on the use of horses. Purebred short horn bulls were placed at suitable locations for neighborhood use. The same was done for registered Yorkshire boars. Barred Rock baby chicks were purchased in quantity in the spring and raised under special care and distributed as pullets in the fall. This made possible early production and freedom from disease. All male breeding animals remained the property of the settlers jointly until the fourth year when they were sold to individual high bidders. Horses and machinery were purchased only as required for the successful operation of the settlement as a unit. Since it was impossible to supply each settler with a complete set of farm implements a limit was set on the value of machinery that each settler could obtain

from the settlement fund.

There was some opportunity for outside employment as a means of supplementing the total group income. Some men worked on the Alaska Highway which runs through the settlement and others in the lumber camps.¹

It is not my purpose to give complete details of this interesting settlement experiment here. The ultimate success of the colony cannot yet be judged, but the effectiveness of the method of establishing a group of inexperienced and untrained farmers in an agricultural settlement on virgin soil must be called a success. The total average cost per settler out of 107 cases was \$2,156.00. This is, indeed a very low figure when one considers the good economic start that these settlers had after four years of effort in comparison with other colonization efforts which often must struggle ten and twenty years for an equally good start.

Assistance in Business and Industry

It would be unrealistic to assume that all Mennonite young people want to become established on farms or in strictly agricultural communities. This would be an unrealistic and impractical objective in our modern industrialized, mechanized, and commercialized society. Therefore, vocational assistance to our young people needs to be thought of in areas of business and industry. In this area there has been comparatively little attention given to the opportunities that exist in hundreds of small towns throughout the United States where Mennonites are settled. In a survey which my class in Agriculture Economics at Bethel College conducted in cooperation with the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, we were amazed to discover the large number of Kansas towns that had absolutely no manufacturing activity. In these towns service agencies, such as general stores, garages, elevators, and repair shops were often the only businesses in town. This was true of towns with populations running up to two thousand.

Many of these small towns are ideally suited to establish and support industries and businesses that will provide labor and opportunity for capital and management on a small individual or cooperative scale. If some of our enterprising young men could catch the vision, and a moderate amount of financial assistance

¹ I am indebted to Henry J. Siemens of Brandon, Manitoba, for this detailed information on the Sudeten Settlement. For further references see Canadian Society. Technical Agriculturists, Inc., Ottawa, Canada, June, 1943.

to incorporate that vision into reality, much could be done to open new areas of occupational opportunity for our young people, as well as renew an interest in the local rural church and community. A few illustrations of men who have caught this vision and done something about it must suffice.

In Winkler, Manitoba, an imaginative farmer decided to manufacture puffed wheat. After investigating possibilities he bought a machine, experimented with it and after one costly failure bought a second machine, hit upon the right process, and today earns a comfortable living besides providing employment for two additional men. He carries on this little manufacturing business on his own farm, consumes the wheat he grows, and supplies the neighboring markets with puffed wheat.

In the little town of Altona, Manitoba, because of war time conditions, farmers were unable to buy new machinery and had difficulty getting their old implements repaired. They got together, formed a cooperative organization, bought a local unused garage, brought a skilled mechanic back from a Winnipeg airplane factory to establish and manage a farmers' machine shop. Today this little shop employs ten fulltime men with an investment of \$13,000. At the end of the first year over \$24,000.00 worth of business was done and the farmers earned for themselves \$2900.00 on their operations. A dividend of over thirteen per cent was allowed to shareholders on their purchases.

On a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, farm a Mennonite at Bowmansville started manufacturing potato chips. He had been taking eggs and farm produce to nearby city markets. He decided that potato chips were something he could manufacture as well as other people and besides he could grow the raw material for the manufactured product. He has labored hard and over the years has built himself a very successful potato chip business. It is not a large factory, employing hundreds of laborers. Only he, his wife, son and daughter-in-law are employed, but it does provide a source of income for two families on a small plot of thirty-seven acres of ground.

Another thoughtful individual who was an accountant by trade discovered that many small town businesses could not afford a full-time accountant or bookkeeper and yet they needed the services of such a man. This imaginative accountant saw the small town

business man's problem and he established a business of his own by doing the accounting work for a large number of small town businesses. He has been so successful that he has had to employ several men to help him. With the large number of mechanical conveniences, such as electric sweepers, refrigerators, irons, washing machines, typewriters, etc., it would seem that a considerable number of mechanically minded men could earn a living as repair men for these modern devices. In hundreds of small communities modern equivalents are needed for the blacksmith, the cobbler, and the wheel wright of a former day.

Educational Assistance

Today the educational requirements for men and women wanting to enter the professional fields are high. Not only are many years required for training but in the case of medicine, law, engineering, and similar fields a large amount of money is needed to prepare for this service. The result is that many of the Mennonite young people who desire to enter these fields can never do so. Others who do, never return to Mennonite communities but frequently settle in large cities when they are through with their training. This is largely because economic opportunities in those areas are greater. Mennonites could give their own young people vocational assistance in acquiring an education with more vision and objectivity than they do. A lesson from the Mennonites in Russia might be of value in this matter.

It was the custom in some Mennonite communities in Russia to pay for the expenses of those young men who wanted to prepare for teaching and who had to leave the local communities for the larger university centers. Assistance was granted on a conditional basis. No repayment of the assistance had to be made if the one receiving it returned to the local community and taught for two years for every year of assistance he had received. In other words, in exchange for three years of assistance at a college or university, the Mennonite young man had to agree to teach in the local community from which he received assistance for six years. After that time he was free to do as he pleased. If he did not return to the home community which assisted him, he was obliged to repay the amount for which he had been aided.

Such a method not only guides a young man into college and into a professional field of service, but it is a stimulus for him to re-

turn to his own people with the additional psychological situation of knowing that he represents not merely himself but the members of the Christian brotherhood of which he is a part. How many more doctors, lawyers, teachers, and preachers would return to serve us in the rural areas if they had some kind of group assistance. This type of aid needs to be investigated, especially for men who want to become medical doctors and veterinarians and women who want to become registered or practical nurses. Not only should a program of Christian mutual aid provide assistance for the men and women who want to prepare for such services, but it should provide assistance in the local communities by way of facilities with which to work when they are through with their training. Local clinics or small hospitals in which laboratory facilities would be provided, where minor operations could be performed, and where a general program of preventative medicine could be carried on. It would be an outstanding way of giving vocational assistance to Mennonite young people who are eager for service. Under such a program Mennonites could effectively provide for their own needs as well as render a worthwhile Christian service to all other citizens in the community. There are many areas where Mennonites do not feel in conscience free to participate in community activities but this is one area where positive Christian service could be engaged in with enthusiasm.

Methods of Procedure

To make these suggestions workable I propose a number of concrete suggestions. First, by way of organization. The Section for Mennonite Aid, which has been already created by the Mennonite Central Committee, could serve as a central agency for all Mennonite groups by way of providing information of mutual interest to the various branches of Mennonites. It could also be used as an agency to carry on a specific program of vocational guidance and assistance in case the various constituent branches now supporting the Mennonite Central Committee would care to use it. If not, the individual branches could operate as they now do through their mission, publication, education, and other conference boards. In each community local committees on Mennonite Aid should be formed to render assistance, to interpret the program to young people needing that assistance, and in turn, interpreting the needs of the young people to the central agency. Such committees could

serve as both counsellors and supervisors of projects that would be undertaken. By virtue of their intimate acquaintance with the young people and with local conditions, they would be suited to perform this service.

In order to make these local committees effective they would need to be carefully chosen. The central agency operating the program of mutual aid would need to establish standards by which assistance would be given so that the local committees in various areas would operate on the same premises and under the same general program. The methods of procedure should be clear, simple, and readily available in published form, as well as familiar to members of the brotherhood generally, so that all people in need of the type of assistance, which an aid program would be designed to give, could readily call on their local committee.

A really effective program of assistance in helping youth get a vocational start is dependent upon efficient organization. But behind every efficient organization must be an idea and in this case, the idea is the basic one of the concept of the Christian Church as a brotherhood of believers in Christ Jesus, a holy community, a fellowship of the reborn. If this concept is accepted by enough people who today call themselves Mennonites, the Church can again become vital, can discharge its mission in this world, and fulfill its genius. The problem of vocational assistance to youth will then be solved as a matter of course. It will assume lesser significance when placed in the larger framework of the whole Christian brotherhood.

PANEL DISCUSSION

"MENNONITE MUTUAL AID: ITS PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES"

Participants: Melvin Gingerich, Frank Wenger, Elmer Flaming, William Stauffer.

A Summary

Melvin Gingerich, chairman, opened the discussion by asking "What is Happening to Mennonite Communities?" He commented on mutual aid as a way of Christian brotherhood and as a way of preserving the Mennonite Church. Each of the representatives on the panel was asked to present what his group was doing by way of mutual activity.

Elmer Flaming of the Mennonite Brethren reported that his group was seeking financial contributions and income from civilian bonds. The bonds were solicited at times of national bond drives. He expressed the feeling that there was some opposition to such a program, especially by those who do not understand the aims and intentions.

Frank Wenger of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, said that his group has already raised a fund to assist C.P.S. men. The fund is not yet large, and his group faces difficulty in getting men of wealth to share. He stated that there was no plan of incorporation for the purpose of expressing this mutual aid but that cases would be assisted on an individual basis.

William Stauffer reported that the General Conference had appointed a Fact Finding Committee to study the needs of C.P.S. men and other young people in the brotherhood and to suggest a definite plan of organization for meeting those needs. This committee has outlined both a statement of the problem and has suggested solutions. The suggested plan now awaits official approval of the next General Conference which is to be held in June, 1945.

Melvin Gingerich in reporting for the Old Mennonites stated that his group was planning an incorporated mutual aid society to assist C.P.S. men who need help in establishing homes and a means of livelihood and to assist young married couples not in C.P.S. for the same purpose. The Aid Society is to provide aid in case of

property loss, sickness, or death, and vocational counseling and financial assistance service for those needing it. It is also to provide a means by which brethren in the church can invest funds in behalf of their brethren who are in need.

Following the presentation of statements of the panel members there was a general discussion by the audience. Questions were addressed to members of the panel.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE (OLD) MENNONITE CHURCH TOWARD LABOR UNIONS

By Ivan Lind

In a group such as is represented in this cultural conference, it is probably safe to assume that the Scriptural bases for the position of the historic peace churches on the question of the taking of life and use of force are familiar to all. There are, however, applications for these passages of Scripture other than participation in war. It is my purpose in this paper to explore only briefly the attitude which the Mennonites have taken through the years of their history toward labor organizations. The name Mennonite as used in this paper shall consistently refer only to that body of Mennonites who for clarity are sometimes called "old" Mennonites. Possibly there are other of the Mennonite groups here represented who can produce a similar history of their dealing with the problem of labor organizations.

If we have not seen the implications of force and violence in labor organizations in the past, it is well that the problem be faced openly and honestly, for in all probability in the post-war era we shall all have to do with the problem. In an editorial in the Rocky Mountain News under date of July 27, the editor discusses an agreement entered into by the Veterans of Foreign Wars with the American Federation of Labor and the Council on Industrial Organization in which he points out that

Veterans whose skill qualifies them for work in any business or industry dealing with union labor under contract should be entitled to full union membership, at admission fees no larger than those charged before January 1, 1940, and dues no higher than those paid by other members doing the same work. In local unions where work assignment is based on seniority, veterans should be credited with at least a month of seniority rights for each month of military service since September 1, 1940.

The doctrines set forth in the writings of the early Anabaptist fathers and which have a bearing upon the problem of this paper are

1. Nonconformity to the world
2. Nonresistance
3. Nonswearing of oaths
4. Avoidance of secret societies

It has not been an easy task for the Mennonite Church to continue steadfastly in these doctrines. The Christian life as they have lived it has not been the easiest road nor the most pleasant from the world point of view. But that inward compulsion which dominates the heart of one who purposes to be faithful even to death has led them triumphantly through much persecution and even death by drowning, by being beheaded, by fire at the stake, and other means of excruciating torture.

Throughout its history, the Mennonite Church has been in constant conflict with the social or political structures in which it dwelt. In the United States the perennial struggle has continued without interlude from colonial days and the Revolution to the present. As these social and economic structures have changed from time to time, the distinctive doctrines have been applied to meet the changes as they arose.

In the main the Mennonite Church played the role of an interested observer only, in the early days of unionism. Frequently reference is made to unions in a column entitled "Items" in the monthly and later semi-monthly publication called the *HERALD OF TRUTH*, which served as a church paper at that time.¹ These early accounts were usually only a brief paragraph of four to ten lines giving news of some union activity. They have little significance other than to show that from the early activities of unionism the church has voiced herself against them.

It would not be expected that there should be any definite church action relative to unions until they actually touched the lives of her membership. The first official action which was found in this study was October 7, 1881, under the heading of Secret Societies. In a brief statement the members of the churches in the conference district of Franconia, Pennsylvania, were forbidden to associate themselves with secret societies, labor unions, and farmer's unions.²

In the Virginia Conference of May 11, 12, 1883, the following question was brought before the session: "Will it be consistent with the teachings of Christ for the brotherhood to form a mutual society?"

The society in question was probably one of several farm organiza-

¹John F. Funk, Editor, "Items", *The Herald of Truth*.

²Rules and Discipline of Franconia Conference of Mennonite Church, Revised August, 1925.

tions which in essence were farm unions. The decision which was handed down by this Conference was that it would not be consistent.³

A resolution was passed in 1888 by the Kansas-Nebraska Conference "That we keep ourselves aloof from. . .secret societies. . .and such like worldly gatherings and organizations."⁴ The Indiana-Michigan Conference with a similar question to that received by the Virginia Conference gave the following reply in 1891:

Whereas, the grangers, F. A., P. of I's and the various other labor unions are purely worldly institutions, and whereas, they are secret organizations, and whereas, the members of nearly all such organizations are under oath; therefore, be it resolved, that this Conference oppose any connection of our members with such organizations according to II Cor. 6:14-18."⁵

It is interesting to note that already the church has voiced itself against both farm organizations and labor unions on the grounds of secrecy, worldliness, and the oath. More emphasis seems to have been given to their secrecy than any other point. Frequently, however, in the "Items"⁶ reference was made to the costliness of strikes, the hatred and violence engendered, and the unchristian nature of the movement as a whole.

Many other citations are available were time to permit their mention. These include statements of position and conference regulations respecting membership and participation in unions from practically every conference district in the United States and Canada, and General Conference.

Among the many statements made a new development seems to be forthcoming with the meeting of the Amish Mennonite Conference of Ohio and Pennsylvania.⁷ Here in 1903, the question was raised as to the advisability of the Mennonites working in "public works thereby exposing themselves to many temptations." The decision was that owing to numerous influences, among which were labor unions, Mennonites should seek employment elsewhere "Where the Word of God can be fully complied with." This is of particular interest in the light of the increased interest among some of our present day

³Virginia Conference Reports, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Mennonite Publishing House, 1910, Report of May 11, 12, 1883.

⁴Conference Record of the Kansas-Nebraska Mennonite Conference, 1876-1914 Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

⁵Minutes of Indiana-Michigan Conference, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Mennonite Publishing House, p. 149, Report of April 2, 1891.

⁶The Herald of Truth, loc. cit.

⁷"Report of the Amish Mennonite Conference," Wilmington Junction, Pennsylvania, May 27, 28, 1903, Herald of Truth, 40:206.

leaders in the development of rural community life.

By 1904 the Illinois Conference, meeting at Freeport, in answer to the question of members of unions being received into church fellowship, went on record as not favoring such fellowship on the basis of their violation of the Nonswearing of Oaths and the violence and coercive activities of the unions.⁸ This is a significant decision in that it not only forbade the membership to participate in unions but it also refused to receive into their fellowship any one who was affiliated with unions. While the church refused to receive such members, it is only on the grounds of their being affiliated with unions that they were refused. Were they to give up their union affiliations, they would be received into church fellowship. This is substantiated by an action of this same Conference in 1910 when they recommended that the applicants "be asked to drop their identification with labor unions."⁹

When the unions progressed in any one local situation where the Mennonites were located, they set themselves against them.

Not only did the Church voice herself against labor unions, but she forbade membership in such organizations. Throughout the several conferences in the United States and Canada, there is a unanimity of actions on this point.¹⁰

Although it appears from these records that the Church opposes the union movement, the Church has shown herself to be in sympathy with the objectives of the unions. The report of the Labor Committee to General Conference in 1939, stated that:

As a rule the demands to these organizations were unreasonable. In 1886, the A. F. of L. drew up a platform asking for an eight hour working day, the prohibition of child labor . . . universal, compulsory education, the establishment of a national bureau of labor statistics and adequate protection against injuries received in factories. The request for the prohibition of Chinese immigration may possibly be placed on a lower level. But even here there is no doubt that cheap Chinese labor did militate against a living wage for many American laborers.

Furthermore, the Church recognizes that the labor unions are the result of oppression and gross injustice at the hands of capital.¹¹ The true position of the Church is set forth by the editor of the official Church paper:

⁸"Illinois Conference Report, June 3, 1904," *Herald of Truth*, 41:205.

⁹"Illinois Church Conference Report, May 27, 1910," *Gospel Herald*, 3:157.

¹⁰"Report of the Indiana-Michigan Conference," *Gospel Herald*, July 24, 1930, 23:328.

¹¹Geo. J. Lapp, "Labor Organizations and Our Attitude Toward Them," *Herald*, October 11, 1934, 27:598.

The Mennonite Church has consistently made membership in unions, whether of organized labor or of organized capital, a test of membership.¹²

Therefore, while in sympathy with labor and well aware of the injustices labor has suffered at the hands of capital, the Mennonite Church is forced to take a position solidly against labor beginning at the point where labor uses unscriptural means in the struggle against capital, and where membership with the union endangers the Christian with worldly entanglements. The force of this conviction, which characterizes the Church position, is further shown in the report of a Committee to the General Conference in 1939:

We believe it is as expedient for our people to seek peace-time exemption from industrial strife as it is to seek war-time exemption from carnal warfare.¹³

The following points have been set forth at various times by the Mennonites as their specific objections to unions. These are largely interpretations based upon the four doctrines which have already been mentioned.

1. Unions are organized to enhance their own selfish interests at the expense of others.
2. Capital was accused of forming a monopoly, but to counteract that monopoly, labor has become guilty of using the very weapon which she has objected to in capital.
3. The sacredness of human rights is violated.
4. Force, strife, and coercion have a prominent place in union activities.
5. That labor unions are oath bound to secrecy is not denied.
6. To link one's self with unchristian acts is construed to be a violation of Scripture and necessitates a Christian's living separate from such organizations and practices.
7. There is a third party to this industrial strife, namely, the public.
8. Unionism has had an effect upon society which has not been too wholesome.

The Christian laborer's duty is to work on in faithful submission to his employer, even when the latter is intruding on the rights of the employee.

Sooner or later, the Church of Christ will be driven to the point

¹² Daniel Kauffman, "Unionism." *Gospel Herald*, December 12, 1935, 28:786.

¹³ "Report of the Mennonite General Conference Committee on Industrial Problems," *General Conference Report*, August, 1939.

where she must choose definitely between assimilation with the mass, or loyalty to God. If she chooses the latter, it will mean suffering for Christ's sake. The innocent suffer at the hands of the world, but the guilty will ultimately be punished by the "judge of all the earth." Suffering has already come to many of God's children in Russia, and the Lord only knows how soon the Church in America may be sifted and required to pass through fire and blood for the principles of the Gospel of Christ.¹⁴

And choose to suffer they will rather than to violate the teachings of the Scripture and their conscience. As labor continues to make her gains and the closed shop encompasses industry, the test will be more severe. But the Mennonite Church will choose to suffer. That is her history. But in that suffering she has enjoyed triumphs and victories which the world will never know or understand.

As union organization progressed, the laissez faire policy which has been seen thus far on the part of the Mennonite Church respecting her membership's problem in labor circles became increasingly difficult to maintain. This was recognized by the Industrial Relations Committee in their report to the General Conference in 1939:

For even if nonresistant people can have nothing to do with industrial conflict and the struggle for power, it is clear that sooner or later they will have to do something about it.¹⁵

Minor troubles were brewing in most of the centers where Mennonites have secured industrial employment. Most of these were settled through compromises of various types by the individuals concerned, or, if not, it was common to change one's place of employment to some occupation which had not been disturbed by union activity.

Apparently the first conference to take definite action was that of Indiana-Michigan. In 1913 a committee of three was appointed to thoroughly study the problems of the Church and its relation to unions.¹⁶ Two years later this committee returned with a report suggesting that the matter be referred to the General Conference for a further and more general study. This only resulted in a restatement of the position of the Church.

The next steps taken by the Church to assist its membership

¹⁴ J. L. Stauffer, "Maintaining Our Testimony Against Unionism," *Gospel* October 11, 1934, 27:598.

¹⁵ G. F. Hershberger, "The Nonresistant Attitude in Industrial Strife," *Mennonite General Conference Report*, 1939, p. 109.

¹⁶ *Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference Report*, op. cit. October 9, 10, 1913, p. 123

with the labor problem were taken late in the twenties and in the thirties. This new step was the appointment of General Problems Committees in the district conferences and also in the General Conference. Among other problems that came to the attention of these committees were those pertaining to labor relations. The several committees faithfully brought to the bodies to whom they were responsible reports and restatements of the Church position. The notable exception to this was the cooperative effort of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Conference Problems Committee and the General Conference Problems Committee in effecting an agreement with the United Mine Workers of America in connection with a problem which arose in the coal mines near Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1935.

In the 1937 session of General Conference a report of this work was given and a representative committee of five members was appointed to continue the study of the union problem and bring their report to the 1939 session.

The really significant work of this committee was done conjointly with a similar committee from the Brethren in Christ Church, which holds a similar view respecting labor organization. This joint committee sponsored a delegation to Washington, D. C., to contact the Director of Organizations of the American Federation of Labor.¹⁷ An agreement was entered into respecting the labor difficulty being experienced between the membership represented by this joint-delegation and the A. F. of L. Truckman's Union in Buffalo.

The joint-committee saw that it would be an endless task to attempt to make agreements satisfactorily with all the local unions which touched Mennonite and Brethren workers. It therefore decided that since hearings were to be held in contemplation of a revision of the National Labor Relations Act, a special delegation should be sent by the joint-committee to appeal for an exemption clause to be inserted in the Wagner Act which would give exemption to any religious body who took a similar position toward industrial strife.

In addition to their contact with the Senate Committee which gave them a good hearing, the joint-committee contacted two other

¹⁷"Reports of Mennonite General Conference Committee on Industrial Problems," *Mennonite General Conference Report*, August, 1939.

senators who assured them of the constitutionality of their request and that in case of any rewriting of the Wagner Act or any other industrial legislation the position set forth by these churches should be given consideration.¹⁸ Unfortunately nothing of this has materialized due to the urgency of matters relating to the present war.

At the 1939 session the General Conference appointed a special Committee on Industrial Relations. This committee consisted of five members, chosen to represent both the employer and employee's points of view. The appointment of the Industrial Relations Committee marks definitely the beginning of a new era in the Church's struggle with the labor problem. A number of the district conferences likewise appointed committees to meet the labor problem and where such committees were not appointed, the general problems committees continued to function. These district committees seem to have come at once under the wing of the newly appointed General Conference Committee, and by the summer of 1941, the Industrial Relations Committee had become a strong and influential body. The committee had power to enter into agreements with local and international unions and was making progress in contacting the Federal Government.

In a few local communities the leadership are permitting and sanctioning agreements with unions such as was entered into at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1935. This permitted the exercise of the check-off of payment of dues and freed the Mennonites from participating in the union affairs. This is recognized by the most able leaders as a compromise on the part of the church that had better not have occurred.

There are, however, a number of localities east and west that have been able to make satisfactory agreements with the unions without a compromise of principle. These agreements exempt the Mennonite worker from participation in union affairs, waives his right to interfere with the union's activities and provides that an amount at least equal to that paid by a union member in the same situation be paid to some charitable institution agreed upon by the union and the committee representing the Church. A few such agreements have been entered through the work of local committees and more recently with international unions through the efforts of the Industrial Relations Committee of General Conference

It is hoped that by securing such agreements as these latter that

¹⁸Ibid.

it will not be necessary to work out agreements in local situations between the local union officials and the Mennonite workmen. Such agreements find their parallel in the government's provision for the alternative of purchasing Civilian Bonds instead of War Bonds by those who cannot conscientiously participate in such activities.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES TO THE CULTURE OF KANSAS

By Menno S. Harder

The story of the Mennonites furnishes one of the interesting chapters in the history of the world. This story covers a span of four hundred years. During that time, the Mennonites have developed into a religious, social group that virtually approaches the status of a race.

Mennonites are a peculiar people. They are distinctly and measurably different from other groups. Their past history of four hundred years has been sufficient to originate, develop, and fix certain forms of behavior that sets them apart. These Mennonite behavior patterns form the warp and woof of the MENNONITE WAY OF LIFE.

It cannot be denied that God's inexhaustable blessings have rested upon the Mennonites continuously from their very origin. No human group can enjoy God's blessings for four hundred years without in turn becoming a blessing to mankind in general. Mennonites have in the past and are at present a source of influence that cannot be measured. The world is definitely better for having had Mennonites. They have left marks, accomplishments and contributions in their wake. Truly, God has singled out the Mennonites as an effective instrument in the building of His kingdom here on earth.

Historical Background of the Russian Mennonites

Through the sincere efforts of Menno Simon, many churches of Anabaptists were organized among the inhabitants of the provinces of northern Netherlands. The movement of Anabaptism, defined so heroically by Menno Simon, found among the liberty-loving Netherlands ready acceptance.

In 1540 the Spanish Inquisition carried its ruthless persecutions up among the new Christians, called Mennonites. Many were arrested and put to death in a cruel manner.

As persecutions became more intense, Menno Simon and many of his followers fled for their lives. They found temporary refuge among their own people in the province of East Friesland which

permitted religious freedom to all protestants. But permanent refuge lay not in this province.

Heinrich H. Schroeder¹ in his book, *Russlanddeutsche Friesen* says that the dense population of East Friesland prevented permanent settlement. Dr. C. Henry Smith states:

As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, if not earlier, Mennonite refugees from Holland found their way to the deltas of the Vistula and Nogat in Polish Prussia, upon the invitation of ecclesiastical as well as lay noblemen, who were desirous of industrious farmers for their swampy and unfruitful estates in those lowlands. Religious toleration, to be sure, was not yet the settled policy of either Church or State anywhere; but the Mennonites of Holland were experts in the art of reclaiming swamp lands by means of dikes and canals. And so, because of their economic worth, they were welcomed by those noblemen where otherwise they might have expected nothing better than religious oppression.²

At first, living in isolated groups on lands hitherto but sparsely populated, they were able to lead a quiet and unmolested life. But in time as they grew in numbers and became prosperous, both in the country and in the cities, native Prussians became fearful of the prosperity of these thrifty farmers. They were not burned at the stake or imprisoned, as was done in other states, but they were frequently hampered in the free exercise of their religion and were denied the rights of citizenship.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the increasing spirit of militarism in Europe began to affect the life of the peace-loving Mennonites.

The Prussian war office, fearing that further growth of the Mennonite settlement would weaken the military power of the Kingdom, since military service rested upon land ownership, induced the Royal Council to issue an order forbidding the Mennonites to buy any more land unless the original owner should keep enough of the estate to retain his military obligations . . . The state church, however, which was Lutheran, also insisted that the Mennonite privileges especially of buying land be greatly curtailed.³

It was evident that both State and Church were determined to stop the further growth of Mennonitism. Hampered by heavy taxes, unable to secure new homes for their growing families, and fearful of the future, the Mennonites, after a sojourn of about 250 years in Germany, began to look for a new home where they might be free

1. Heinrich H. Schroeder, *Russlanddeutsche Friesen* (Dollstadt, 1936.).

2. C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927) p. 11.

3. *Ibid.* p. 16.

to live up to their convictions without governmental restraint. After considering several possibilities, including America, they finally decided to accept the invitation which Catherine the Great had extended them a few years before. In the years immediately following, about half of the whole group, somewhat over 8,000 persons left their homes in the fertile deltas of the Vistula to start life all over again on the fertile though desolate steppes of southern Russia.

The Mennonites in Russia furnish an interesting example of the course Mennonitism takes where it is free to apply its economic, social, and political principles to every day life. For the first time Mennonites were given the opportunity to practice their religious beliefs according to their consciences.

Toward the close of a century in Russia, governmental policies began to change toward the Mennonites. Smith explains the situation as follows:

The determination of the Czar to inaugurate a policy of universal military service, abolishing the exemptions enjoyed by non-Russian subjects heretofore, and to thoroughly Russianize his German as well as other foreigners living within his realm was largely the result of the growing spirit of the militarism of the times and especially the unification of the German Empire in 1871. At any rate the program of Russianization proposed at this time was thorough-going and far reaching. It included not only the abolition of all military exemptions, but complete governmental control of the school systems in the colonies, the Russian language instead of the German as a medium of instruction . . . In short, the days of special privileges were to close; and all Germans were to become fullfledged Russians.⁴

Several commissions were sent to confer with the Czar in order to obtain confirmation of privileges granted years before. Although some contemplated changes were dropped by the government, their attitudes remained opposed to the extensive privileges enjoyed by the Mennonites.

The many Mennonites began to look about for a new home. Australia, Turkestan, South America, North America, all suggested themselves as possibilities.

To search for a new home, twelve emissaries were sent to the United States and Canada. These delegates traveled all over the prairie states of the middle west and several provinces of Canada. Their favorable reports induced 18,000 or about one-third of the Mennonites in southern Russia to come to the United States and Canada. The majority settled here in Kansas while large groups

4. *Ibid.* p. 44.

settled in Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, and the Canadian provinces of Manitoba and Ontario. The first group of immigrants landed in New York in June, 1873, and others followed, mainly during the next three years.

This paper is an attempt to list the contributions of the Russian Mennonites to the culture of Kansas. To do this it is necessary to formulate two basic assumptions upon which our discussion of Mennonite contributions must rest.

1. The Russian Mennonites introduced into Kansas life a specific culture.
2. The Russian Mennonite culture, which has greatly enriched Kansas life, constitutes a body of contributions.

Now the question can naturally arise, what are the contributions that the Russian Mennonites have made to Kansas culture?

More than seventy years have passed since the first Mennonite pilgrim set foot in this state. From the original stock of about 5,000 immigrants, there are today a crude, estimated 25,000 first, second, third, and fourth generation descendants. Just a mere handful of the early pioneers are living today to enjoy the fruits of their own labors. During this time the Mennonites in Kansas have worked hard, lived well, and planned for the future.

When the Russian Mennonites came to Kansas, they were, as a whole, extremely poor in worldly possessions. A few cooking utensils, clothes, bedding, books, and a few simple tools constituted their worldly goods. Much of this was soon discarded for the more practical American-made articles. When the idea of Mennonite contributions is brought into discussion, Red Turkey Wheat is immediately suggested. True, Red Turkey Wheat represents the Russian Mennonites' main contribution in the material realm. And the worth of the hundreds of millions of bushels of hard winter wheat that has been produced on the Kansas plains since its introduction can never be calculated. Since this Mennonite contribution has received so much emphasis in books, periodicals, and from platforms, there is little that might be added to that story. This paper shall therefore center its attention in contributions of a spiritual nature.

In the spiritual realm, the Russian Mennonites have made one great contribution to Kansas life: namely, *The Mennonite Way of Life*. It is in the factors or units in this way of life that some of the

finest Mennonite contributions lie.

Within any Mennonite community, there are the usual social institutions, the church, business, the school, and the family. The organization of any Mennonite community consists in the interrelationships of these social institutions.

An analysis of a social institution brings into focus the unit factors of which each social institution is composed. It is the quality of these unit factors that makes Mennonite life different from life about it.

Some of these unit factors, when isolated, appear to have a negative value, but, when left to function as a part of a whole, they form a Mennonite social institution. Some of these unit factors, when isolated, will be found functioning in non-Mennonite communities. Here, too, all the unit factors functioning together build a Mennonite social institution.

MENNONITE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CULTURE OF KANSAS

Through Church Life

Mennonites are a religious people. Their spiritual life, their social life, their economic life, their educational life are deeply rooted in religion. In every Mennonite community the organized church is the center of all activity. In it the Mennonites worship, grow spiritually, and receive the fundamental inspiration for life. The Mennonite church is a power that dominates over the thinking, that directs the behavior, and shapes decisions. The Mennonites are what they are because of the church.

The deep and profound emphasis on religion has given rise to a definite body of behavior patterns that, when taken together, make the Mennonite Church a contribution to the culture of Kansas. The unit factors of the Mennonite Church are as follows:

1. Mennonites follow a simple interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. They don't know much about books, philosophy, or theologies. They accept the Bible as the Word of God and attempt to apply its teachings in all simplicity in their daily lives.
2. Mennonites have always favored a free ministry, as opposed to a salaried system. A professional ministry seems to spell artificiality and insincerity which the Mennonites hesitate to accept.

3. Mennonites strive to remain free from becoming yoked with unbelievers. To become involved or identified with worldly-minded individuals is guarded against. To become involved with unbelievers in economic, social, or political activities or schemes is to sit in the seat of the scornful.

4. Mennonites believe in simplicity of worship. They refrain from formalism and ritual in their worship services

5. Mennonites make their church and its activities a center of interest in the community. Satisfaction of the human wishes for response and recognition finds satisfaction in the church life.

6. Women are silent members. Women come to church to worship. They do not come to shape policies, administer affairs, or select leaders. Mennonite churches are men's institutions.

7. Men only, serve in the ministry. A women's place is not behind the pulpit. Exposition of the scriptures is strictly a man's job.

8. Mennonites bring their children to church; they do not send them. Mennonite worship is a family matter. All go to church.

9. Mennonites keep their sixteen or more divisions separated from each other. There is little evidence of a tendency toward unification or of peacetime cooperation.

10. Mennonites express a strong church loyalty. Good church attendance is not necessarily the result of dynamic preaching but loyalty.

11. Mennonites believe in strict church discipline. The activities and behavior of the membership during the week is required to be in harmony with the teachings of the scriptures. Members found straying away from such teachings are subjected to church discipline.

12. Church conferences hold an unusual place in the religious life of the membership. Conferences are attended by delegates and lay members. Conference problems, discussions, and decisions are of vital concern to all.

13. Mennonites believe in a spiritual life as distinguished from mere church membership. Church membership must be accompanied by active participation in the worship and affairs of the church.

14. The Mennonite church stresses Christ's doctrine of non-resistance. The Mennonites furnish the greatest number of conscientious objectors in the present war effort.

15. Mennonites discuss scriptural subject-matter at great length in their daily conversations.

16. Mennonites express a definite objection to almost all forms of amusements. Motion picture, card-playing, dancing, gambling, and professionalized sports are factors that detract from spiritual behavior.

17. Mennonites believe in a strict Sunday observance. The Sabbath is a day for worship and rest.

18. Mennonites believe in the principles of democracy when applied to their church organization. Equality of votes, majority rule, popular responsibility constitute the structure of church organization.

19. Mennonites believe in a very strict separation of church and state. Political matters are kept outside of church affairs. Anyone running for a political office will not find expected support in his church membership.

20. Mennonites believe in the baptism of believers.

21. Mennonites go to great length to satisfy the human urge of Mutual Aid. Such aid is, for them, a service to the Lord.

Through Economic Life

Mennonites work hard and diligently. Dr. Fretz, in his booklet, *Mennonite Colonization*, states:

For this reason Mennonites were welcomed to drain swamps and low lands in the Netherlands; for this reason they were invited to develop the steppes of South Russia, the plains of Western Canada, and the United States, the plateaus of Chihuahua in Mexico, and the Chaco plain in Paraguay.⁵

To provide for wholesome food, adequate clothing and unmolested shelter have always constituted the Mennonites' chief economic aims. Beyond that they express but passing interest. Throughout the history of Mennonitism certain behavior patterns have come into existence that characterize Mennonite economic life. They are as follows:

1. Mennonites are professional farmers. They don't work at farming, they are skilled experts. Farming is their main profession. They are farm-minded. Even though they have entered other occupations, yet it must be said that in farming they have reached a singular excellence.

5. J. Winfield Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization*, Mennonite Central Committee, Section for Mennonite Aid, No. 1, Akron, Pa., Mennonite Central Committee, 1944. p. 35.

2. Mennonites believe in being conservative in business ventures. They are hesitant about venturing into new, unfamiliar business enterprises. Staking their all, (a common American practice) finds little favor in the group.

3. They believe in the integrity of a person's oral agreement. They seem to shun written contracts. In a certain large Mennonite farming area, it has been estimated that at least two-thirds of the tenancy agreements are unwritten.

4. They believe in spending less than they earn. Such a practice results in savings. A large Mennonite bank with deposits well over one and one-half millions of dollars has more than twice the amount of time deposits in comparison to surrounding banks in non-Mennonite communities.

5. Mennonites believe in unadulterated honesty in business dealings.

6. Mennonites express suspicion toward unknown salesmen and their wares. It is not uncommon to hear salesmen say that one would starve to death trying to sell Mennonites anything. They develop sales resistance.

7. They carry a limited amount of insurance protection on cattle, crops, or property. Complete coverage is an admission of lack of faith in God's providence. In life insurance there is even greater lag. One life insurance salesman estimates that hardly one third of the Mennonites carry that kind of protection.

8. They believe in possessing the necessities of life but not luxuries. One need but enter an average Mennonite home to discover its bareness of frills and finery.

9. They believe in meeting financial obligations faithfully. The quality of credit extended Mennonites is due proof of their record of meeting financial obligations.

10. They are not in accord with installment buying.

11. They believe in perseverance in their economic undertakings. Courage to see an economic effort through is often seen in Mennonite history.

12. As farmers they build homogeneous, church-centered farm communities.

Through Education

Mennonites have built up a distinct philosophy of education. This philosophy is consistent with the Mennonite Way of Life. This philosophy is simple, practical, and utilitarian. Mennonites have contributed the following educational factors:

1. Education is for the body, mind, and soul. Any education that doesn't emphasize all three phases of human life is viewed with suspicion.

2. Education that emphasizes Biblical knowledge has first place in the hearts of the Mennonites.

3. Education must be practical. It must be good for something. In the controversy between vocational and cultural education, the Mennonites are definitely lined up with those defending the vocational training.

4. Mennonites are not very interested in higher cultural education. Liberal arts colleges, as in the past, must necessarily expect to find a lack of interest in their respective constituencies.

5. Mennonite parents have never relinquished the whole responsibility of educating their children to the public schools. When public school teachers go beyond the teaching of the three r's, Mennonite parents begin to express opposition.

6. Mennonites believe in training their leadership from within the group. Non-Mennonite talent finds acceptance in the field of leadership difficult.

7. Mennonite teachers hold a higher status within their own group than do teachers in American life as a whole.

8. Teachers and ministers are literally identical in Mennonite life.

9. While Mennonites refuse to hold any political office, they will gladly serve on boards of education. Parents are anxious to control the educational philosophy of the schools in which their children are enrolled.

Through Family Life

Of all human groups the family is in many ways the most important in Mennonite life. The Mennonite family is not such a troubled institution as the American family in general. The factors that constitute Mennonite family life are as follows:

1. Mennonites believe in endogamous marriages. Only a very small number marry outside of the group.
2. Mennonites establish a patriarchal family organization. The man is the head of the house.
3. Mennonites consider marriage as sacred. They are made in heaven.
4. Mennonites believe in larger families. The average size of a Mennonite family life is nearer 5 members as contrasted to the national average of 3.64 members.
5. Mennonites believe in rearing children for an eternal destiny. Parents feel their responsibility of the child's spiritual salvation.
6. Mennonites believe in rearing their children to reverence, obey, and love their parents.
7. Mennonites believe in the family altar. Family worship is a necessary part of family life.
8. Mennonite parents believe in indoctrinating their children in habits of thrift and morals.
9. Mennonites believe that a mother's place is in the home. Working outside of the home is frowned upon by members of the group.
10. Mennonites believe that husbands and wives ought to own things in common. Separate bank accounts are very uncommon.
11. Mennonite family life generates a feeling of security in the children. The feeling of belonging, of being wanted, is evident in a group of Mennonite youth.
12. Mennonite men assume the initiative in the selection of a mate.
13. Hospitality is a Mennonite family trait. Visiting each other is a well established behavior pattern. This hospitality is the unforgettable impression a non-Mennonite visitor carries away.
14. Mennonite family ties are stronger and extend into third and fourth generations. Just last Sunday the Wiebe Family Reunion was attended by over two-hundred relatives.
15. Mennonites encourage early marriage and frown upon long engagements.
16. Divorce is exceedingly uncommon. The Tabor College alumna membership contains 5 divorces, the Bethel College alumna group but one. The two groups together represent several thousand marriages.
17. Widowers are few. They usually remarry very quickly.

EDITED MINUTES OF A MEETING OF MENNONITE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

Cincinnati, Ohio, January 11, 1944

The Mennonite College presidents met at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 11, 1944. Dr. E. E. Miller, chairman, read a devotional passage and Dr. E. G. Kaufman led in the opening prayer.

The Cultural Conference, to be held during the coming summer, was discussed, with L. L. Ramseyer reporting on the plans of the program committee for that conference. Some suggestions were made, including the suggestion that only the prepared speeches be included in the printed proceedings, omitting extemporaneous discussion. Suggestions as to program content were also made and the entire matter referred back to the Cultural Conference committee.

Dr. Lloyd Blauch was asked to comment on the probabilities concerning post-war education. He is specialist in Higher Education in the Office of Education, Washington, D. C. He discussed especially the proposed bill for educational aid to discharged service men.

E. E. Miller, Director of Relief training under M.C.C., then reported on plans for this work. He reported educational programs in progress at Ypsilanti, Michigan; Howard, R. I.; Mulberry, Florida; Duke University Hospital, Durham, North Carolina; and Alexian Brothers Hospital, Chicago. A program is soon to be opened at Beltsville, Maryland. An enrollment of 125 trainees is contemplated. A shifting enrollment is contemplated so as to train more men without increasing the number in training at any one time. Courses being given include mental hygiene, languages, Mennonite Relief work, practical nursing, sociology, and culture patterns of central Europe. Work given is taught by qualified instructors and is of college grade. It was proposed that colleges offer college credit for this work. It was then decided that the colleges give such credit, provided the Director of Relief Training designates it as being of college calibre.

The matter of charging for extension work given by the Mennonite colleges was then discussed. It was decided that the uniform

C. N. Hostetter was asked to discuss financial assistance for C.P.S. men for further educational work after their discharge. It was pointed out that the need will be great. The question as to whose responsibility it would be to give this help, whether the church, the school, or the M.C.C., was discussed without arriving at a decision.

Winfield Fretz spoke on his work in connection with rehabilitation of C.P.S. men, with special emphasis on plans for finding the educational desires, vocational choices, and financial needs of men in camps. A questionnaire study is contemplated, and suggestions were requested for this study. There was considerable discussion as to whether help should be given on a flat allotment basis, or on the basis of need. Help on an equal basis seemed to be in greatest favor with the group. Financial grants were preferred to any loan plan. The difficulty of the M.C.C. in providing educational help, due to differing attitudes toward education on the part of the various contributing groups, was mentioned.

P. E. Schellenberg was asked to comment on the curricular needs of C.P.S. men in post-war education. Little is known at present of these needs, but it is concluded that the post-war curriculum must be based upon them. The proposed questionnaire study will likely provide some basis for planning.

The question of giving academic credit for C.P.S. experiences was discussed. One major question is that of proper evaluation of these experiences. It was decided that a committee be appointed to study this problem. Members appointed on this committee were P. E. Schellenberg, Tabor, Chairman; Elmer Ediger, MCC; J. S. Schultz, Bluffton; Paul Bender, Goshen; A. W. Climenhaga, Mes-siah; P. S. Goertz, Bethel; with another member still to be appointed.

E. G. Kaufman spoke on the objectives of post-war education. He classified objectives under three headings: (1) Knowledge; (2) Skills; and (3) Christian creative personality, ability to meet new situations, to judge and appraise action in terms of eternal worth. We need to educate for leadership in home communities rather than taking young people away from these communities. Our education should be in terms of what we want tomorrow in relation to interaction between Mennonite groups. We must know what we want in order to set up objectives. The Christian objective is important.

There is doubt as to whether a Christian college should graduate a student who is not a Christian.

There was a brief discussion of the content of the program for the Educational Conference, planned to be held in conjunction with the Cultural Conference the following summer.

The meeting adjourned.

EDITED MINUTES OF A MENNONITE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS' MEETING

Chicago, Illinois, September 23, 1944

The Mennonite College Presidents met in the Y.M.C.A. Hotel, Chicago, on September 23, 1944, at 9:35 a.m. Since the nature of the planned discussion was such as to be of direct concern to the Deans and to those in charge of the educational work of the M.C.C., these persons were also invited and attended the meeting.

President Miller read Jeremiah 45 as a scriptural devotional message. President Unruh led in prayer.

Much of the work of this session was concerned with the report of the Schellenberg Committee, which had been appointed to work out plans for the evaluation of C.P.S. experiences in terms of academic credit. Other related matters included the following.

(a) The appointment of a liaison officer, a C.P.S. enrollee, to coordinate the educational work of the M.C.C. and the church educational institutions. It was announced that Roy Umble had been appointed to this office, to take charge as soon as the transfer in C.P.S. could be made.

(b) The working out of lines of responsibility between the C.P.S. educational officials, the liaison officer, and the educational institutions.

(c) Deciding on qualifications of teachers and standards to be maintained by C.P.S. educational offerings if credit is to be given.

(d) The coordination of correspondence and extension work. It was pointed out that extension work in C.P.S. is a burden to some institutions, and that there is overlapping of offerings.

(e) The drawing up of suitable forms for keeping records and reporting to educational institutions. Paul Bender, in consultation with the registrars, was given the responsibility of drawing up these forms.

(f) Formulating tests where none are now available and choosing suitable ones from those available for the evaluation of experiences. It was decided that a special committee on tests be appointed. Schellenberg, Paul Bender, and a C.P.S. enrollee, to be assigned to the task by M.C.C., were appointed as this special committee.

(g) Paul Bender was appointed as the individual to represent the Mennonite College Presidents in work with the liaison officer.

The remainder of the agreements reached concerning this particular problem as included in the following report, which was adopted.

A. Lines of Responsibility for the Educational Liaison Officer:

1. He is to be employed by the MCC, and to be finally responsible to Orie Miller and Albert Gaeddert for the general division of his time.
2. In representing the CPS educational interests he is responsible to the MCC Educational Secretary.
3. In representing the interests of the Mennonite colleges, he is responsible to a representative of the Mennonite college presidents.

B. Areas of Responsibility of the Educational Liaison Officer, as proposed by the MCC

1. To be thoroughly informed on college (and high school) standards and procedures, to advise and to interpret these to the educational directors concerned, and be responsible to the colleges for maintaining them.
2. To be thoroughly informed on the CPS educational program which involves the colleges, accept requests from educational directors and individuals for credit evaluations of courses, and be responsible for presenting and interpreting these to the colleges.
3. To be responsible to the colleges for credit evaluations and record transfers.
4. To be the general information and interpretation avenue between the CPS educational program and the colleges.
5. Coordinate the various requests for use of college personnel used in a continuing manner for special schools, and other services of the colleges, such as correspondence courses.
6. In conjunction with his trips, he is to make contacts with the colleges, and other potential CPS visiting speaker personnel.
7. He shall make regular written reports to the colleges and to the MCC Educational Secretary concerning the work

carried on.

C. Procedures for Academic Credit; as Proposed by the College (Schellenberg) Committee.

The College Committee shall set up minimum standards for college and high school credit for educational programs and courses in CPS, to be presented to the liaison officer as his criteria.

The following standards for college credit were agreed upon, as drawn up by the Deans of the colleges who were present at the meeting. This constitutes an adaptation of the first part of the former Joint Plan between Mennonite Colleges, of November 1941.

COURSES OF STUDY IN CPS

a. The classes must be under the supervision of the Education Director of the camp, who in turn is responsible to the Educational Liaison Officer, who in turn is responsible to the colleges concerned. The liaison officer shall be employed by, and maintain an office in the MCC. If the liaison officer is an assignee, he should be thoroughly familiar with college standards and procedures. If he is from the colleges, he should be thoroughly familiar with CPS standards and procedures. The liaison officer is responsible for carrying out the procedures set forth in this plan and for maintaining the standards set up by it. He shall make regular reports to the colleges concerned relating to extension work carried on. Problems of principles not yet formulated by the Committee shall be referred back to the committee as a whole by the liaison officer.

b. Credit will be given only for work carried on in regularly organized courses.

c. We recommend that the curricula of the specialized schools be so constituted that the liberal arts emphasis and vocational emphasis be maintained neither one to the exclusion of the other. If the courses are of a vocational nature it should be remembered that most states limit the amount of vocational credit allowed toward the A. B. degree.

d. The educational status of the student in the classes should be definitely established at the home office: (1) has he been admitted to a college, (2) is there bona fide evidence that he has finished high school, or (3) has he demonstrated by standardized tests sufficient maturity to do work of college grade.

e. The level of the class work in a particular course shall be determined as to whether it shall be of college or high school grade. Also, the level of the men in the class shall be determined as of high school or college grade.

f. One semester hour of credit shall constitute eighteen fifty minute class periods, or its equivalent.

g. A class should consist of not less than five nor more than forty students. Deviations from this rule should be carefully scrutinized. It is recognized that the maximum size of certain classes (e.g. speech or language) should be approximately twenty.

h. The liaison officer and the instructor in charge shall satisfy themselves as to the adequacy of library and such other equipment as may be needed, for the courses.

i. Instructors must be certified as having a minimum training of a bachelor's degree with a major in the field of instruction, or demonstrate adequate qualifications otherwise.

2. The liaison officer shall prepare descriptions, in a form determined by the college deans for the college committee, of the educational programs and courses in CPS, and determine appropriate academic credit values in accordance with the prepared standards. These shall be presented to the representative of the College Committee for approval of the credit value. The liaison officer shall also receive approval for correspondence courses for use by CPS men.
3. The liaison officer shall make available to the educational staff in CPS and to CPS men information regarding approved credit courses, including correspondence courses.
4. The liaison officer shall furnish to each college detailed descriptions and the credit values of the approved credit courses.
5. The liaison officer shall keep academic records for CPS men taking credit courses, on forms determined by the Registrars for the College Committee.
6. The liaison officer shall send a transcript of the academic record of the CPS man to the Mennonite College of his choice and at his request, together with the fee of one dollar per semester hour of credit.

D. Other points of Agreement

1. That the same general pattern for procedure, as outlined above, shall be followed for high school credit for CPS education.
2. That correspondence courses shall be made available to CPS men from Mennonite Colleges and Academies, and from other regular sources for Correspondence courses, and that similar procedures be followed for credit for correspondence courses. Correspondence courses prepared and administered by Mennonite schools shall be used as much as possible, and shall be coordinated between the various schools to avoid duplication of courses and of efforts as much as possible. The Educational Liaison Officer shall coordinate all correspondence courses.
3. That the use of examinations for determining educational maturity and for credit purposes shall be encouraged. The special Committee on tests appointed by the Mennonite College Presidents shall have the following duties:
 - a. Select standardized tests for use in CPS.
 - b. Prepare and standardize special tests for areas in common to Mennonite CPS education, such as Mennonite history and principles.
 - c. Determine norms for the various uses to which tests are to be put in Mennonite CPS.
4. That Relief Training Schools be brought under the same general pattern of procedure for credit purposes.

Ramseyer and Winfield Fretz reported on the Cultural Conference held in North Newton in August. Regrets were expressed that the conference was held at a time when there were serious conflicts in dates so that attendance by some interested parties was impossible. A financial report was given, which indicated that the conference is on a sound financial basis. It was decided that the sale of copies of the reports, including the 300 copies of the 1943 report still unsold, be continued and that a further report be made later to the President's Committee concerning the financial condition of the conference, with the understanding that if some financial assistance be required it would be considered by the colleges.

The subject for financial aid to returning CPS men for educational purposes was discussed. This discussion led to the following recommendation to MCC. "That we recommend to the MCC and our respective church boards and Mennonite Educational institutions that the MCC arrange to provide tuition up to \$100.00 per academic year for any man who has been discharged from an MCC administered camp or Mennonite man from other CPS camps, provided the educational institution or other denominational board be responsible for the other half of the tuition, to become operative upon discharge from camp and acceptance by the educational institution. The total aid provided through MCC shall not exceed \$10.00 for each month in camp up to a maximum of 24 months, to be used within three years after discharge from camp." It was pointed out that this was only a recommendation and would be effective only if passed by the MCC.

E. Kaufman reported on other problems facing Mennonite institutions in the post-war period. He discussed the following: (1) Aims: How are they distinctive for Mennonite Colleges? (2) How achieve aims? (3) How evaluate progress toward achievement of aims? (4) How assimilate men returning from the armed forces and how harmonize their viewpoints with those of men returning from CPS? (5) How large will our post-war enrollments be and how should they be cared for? (6) What place does recreation have and what types of recreation are consistent with the Mennonite faith? (7) How can the colleges build up and maintain the right type of faculty?

Dean Goertz, Dean Kreider, Dean Climenhaga, and President

Ramseyer gave very brief reports of research studies in progress in their respective colleges. At Bethel this involved aims and objectives, with the next step the way to achieve these aims at Goshen the study concerned comprehensive examinations, with proposed studies of objectives for the returning CPS and armed force veterans. At Messiah the study concerned the administration of a small Christian college, the development of criteria of administration, and the applying of these criteria to Messiah. Outside men have been called in for advice and consultation. The study in Bluffton involved a study of opinions of alumni, former students, ministers, and influential laymen concerning the strengths, weaknesses, and future needs of the college.

The following were appointed to the Cultural Conference committee for next year. L. L. Ramseyer, Bluffton; Winfield Fretz, Bethel; John Kopenhaver, Hesston; Menno Harder, Tabor; Carl Kreider, Goshen; Harold Gross, Freeman; and Carlton Wittlinger, Messiah.

The meeting adjourned.

REGISTRATION LIST 1944 CONFERENCE

Albrecht, Abraham	418 W. 12th, Newton, Kansas
Albrecht, Paul	C.P.S., Howard, Rhode Island
Andreas, Paul W.	Beatrice, Nebraska
Andreas, Mrs. W. C.	Beatrice, Nebraska
Bachman, Dale V.	Newton, Kansas
Bachman, Ernest	Newton, Kansas
Bachman, Mrs. Ernest	Newton, Kansas
Baehr, J. P.	Route 2, Newton, Kansas
Bartel, Roland	C.P.S., Camlno, California
Bartel, Wesley W.	C.P.S., Denver, Colorado
Bartel, Mrs. Wesley	C.P.S., Denver, Colorado
Becker, Honora E.	North Newton, Kansas
Beechy, Atlee	C.P.S., Sideling Hill, Wells Tannery, Pa.
Brown, Roland	North Newton, Kansas
Claassen, Aaron J.	Route 2, Beatrice, Nebraska
Clemens, James R.	C.P.S., Luray, Virginia
Coopridger, Eva E.	Hesston, Kansas
Dyck, Walter H.	Beatrice, Nebraska
Ebel, A. R.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Ebersole, Mrs. Muriel	Newton, Kansas
Ediger, Elmer	Akron, Pennsylvania
Ediger, Mrs. Elmer	Akron, Pennsylvania
Epp, Aaron	C.P.S., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Epp, Rev. John F.	Henderson, Nebraska
Ertfmeyer, Cathryn	Kansas City, Missouri
Ewert, Ruth	North Newton, Kansas
Fast, Miss Aganetha	C.P.S., Terry, Montana
Fast, Henry A.	North Newton, Kansas
Fast, Mrs. Henry A.	North Newton, Kansas
Franz, Leonard J.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Franz, Rufus M.	Dallas, Oregon
Fransen, Henry	Buhler, Kansas
Fransen, Mrs. Henry	Buhler, Kansas
Fretz, Mrs. Winfield	Akron, Pennsylvania
Friesen, Edward L.	C.P.S. Unit, Denver, Colorado
Friesen, Mrs. Gerhard	Newton, Kansas
Gaeddert, Albert M.	Moundridge, Kansas
Gering, Walter	Moundridge, Kansas
Gingerich, Melvin	North Newton, Kansas
Gingerich, Mrs. Melvin	North Newton, Kansas
Goering, C. B.	Route 4, Newton, Kansas
Goering, Mrs. C. B.	Route 4, Newton, Kansas
Goering, Erwin C.	North Newton, Kansas
Goering, Mrs. Erwin C.	North Newton, Kansas
Goering, Jacob D.	C.P.S. North Fork, California
Goertz, P. S.	North Newton, Kansas
Goertz, Mrs. P. S.	North Newton, Kansas
Gross, Harold H.	Freeman, South Dakota
Harder, M. S.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Harshbarger, Mrs. Eva	North Newton, Kansas
Hershberger, Glenn	Hesston, Kansas
Hess, Lloyd H.	C.P.S., Grottoes, Virginia
Hohmann, Gertrude	North Newton, Kansas
Hohmann, Walter H.	North Newton, Kansas
Hohmann, Mrs. Walter H.	North Newton, Kansas
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Kaufman, Mrs. Ed. G.	North Newton, Kansas
Kaufman, Gordon D.	C.P.S. Colorado Springs, Colorado
Koppenhaver, J. H.	Hesston, Kansas
Koppenhaver, Mrs. J. H.	Hesston, Kansas
Krahn, Cornelius	Hillsboro, Kansas
Krahn, Mrs. Cornelius	Hillsboro, Kansas

Krehbiel, C. E.	Newton, Kansas
Krehbiel, Leona	North Newton, Kansas
Krehbiel, Olin	Lansdale, Pennsylvania
Kreider, J. Robert	Wadsworth, Ohio (CPS, Clearspring, Md.)
Kreider, L. C.	North Newton, Kansas
Kreider, Mrs. L. C.	North Newton, Kansas
Kroeker, Anna	Newton, Kansas
Kuyf, Theresa D.	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Lind, Ivan R.	Hesston, Kansas
Linscheld, Elizabeth K.	North Newton, Kansas
Linscheld, Emma	North Newton, Kansas
Linscheld, Mrs. Selma	Arlington, Kansas
Loewen, Alice	CPS, Lincoln, Nebraska
Loewen, Esko	CPS, Lincoln, Nebraska
Lohrentz, Mrs. A. M.	McPherson, Kansas
Loucks, Mildred	Canton, Kansas
Martens, Mrs. Harry E.	Akron, Pa.
Martens, H. A.	Buhler, Kansas
Miller, H. E.	Deer Creek, Oklahoma
Miller, Mary	Hesston, Kansas
Miller, Wilma	Hesston, Kansas
Moyer, Mrs. J. F.	North Newton, Kansas
Mueller, A. Theodore	North Newton, Kansas
Nelson, Boyd	CPS, Vineland, New Jersey
Netzsche, Bertha	Hesston, Kansas
Neufeld, Dan	Dinuba, California (CPS, Three Rivers, California)
Penner, A. A.	Mountain Lake, Minnesota
Ramseyer, Lloyd L.	Bluffton, Ohio
Regier, A. J.	North Newton, Kansas
Regier, Arnold J.	North Newton, Kansas
Regier, Mrs. Arnold J.	North Newton, Kansas
Regier, Hans E.	Whitewater, Kansas
Regier, J. M.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Regier, Mrs. J. M.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Reimer, Winfred D.	CPS, Lincoln, Nebraska
Rich, Willis	North Newton, Kansas
Richert, Irwin E.	MCC, Akron, Pennsylvania
Rocke, Vernon S.	Tiskilwa, Illinois (CPS)
Ruth, Emma M.	Reedley, California
Schellenberg, P. E.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Schmidt, Mrs. H. B.	Cordell, Oklahoma
Schmidt, John W.	Buckingham Side Camp, New Raymer, Colorado
Schmidt, Mrs. John W.	New Raymer, Colorado
Schmidt, Mrs. Roland	Pawnee Rock, Kansas
Schmitt, Ruth	CPS, Box 1576, Colorado Springs, Colorado
Schrag, Martin	CPS, Ft. Collins, Colorado
Schrag, Menno	Newton, Kansas
Senner, Robert	Buhler, Kansas
Senner, Mrs. Robert	Buhler, Kansas
Siemens, Viola	Altona, Manitoba, Canada
Smith, C. Henry	Bluffton, Ohio
Smith, Luella	North Newton, Kansas
Stauffer, William H.	Sugar Creek, Ohio
Stucky, Harley J.	3524 S. Washtenaw, Chicago, Illinois
Thiesen, Walter	CPS, North Fork, California
Umbie, Roy H.	CPS, Denison, Iowa
Unruh, H. T.	Hillsboro, Kansas
Unruh, Verney	Bloomfield, Montana
Unruh, Willard	CPS, Belton, Montana
Unruh, Mrs. Willard	CPS, Belton, Montana
Unruh, W. F.	Moundridge, Kansas
Voran, Dallas	CPS, Mulberry, Florida
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Waltner, Emil J.	Hurley, South Dakota
Waltner, Lena	North Newton, Kansas
Weaver, Albert	Hesston, Kansas

Weaver, Edwin I.	Hesston, Kansas
Wedel, C. C.	Route 2, Newton, Kansas
Wedel, P. J.	North Newton, Kansas
Wedel, Rev. P. P.	Moundridge, Kansas
Weinbrenner, Reynold	North Newton, Kansas
Weldy, Dwight	CPS, Denison, Iowa
Wenger, F. H.	Moundridge, Kansas
Wenger, Harry D.	Hesston, Kansas
Wiebe, Arthur J.	CPS, Missoula, Montana
Yost, A. L.	Moundridge, Kansas

